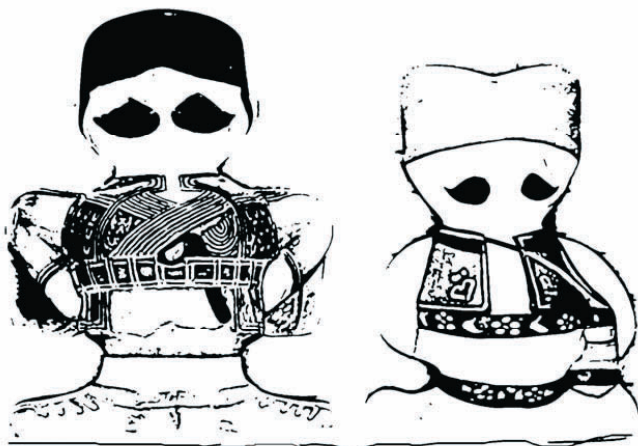


# BROTHERS IN ARMS?

Discourse analysis of Serbian and Montenegrin identities and relations  
as constructed in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* front page articles  
during the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999



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A thesis submitted to the Department of Literature, Area Studies and European  
Languages at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Ph.D

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The cover illustration is based on a photograph of two ceramic figures showing a Montenegrin on the left and a Serb on the right. These were popular souvenirs sold in Serbia and Montenegro after 2000.

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## General notes

On translation:

All translation is done by the author unless otherwise noted. The translation of the analyzed texts into English is not a fluent version; it follows the original more closely in order to facilitate comparison with the original text.

Some terms, like *narod*, have been left in the original language, to avoid any misleading connotation that the English translation might have. When the terms are in the original language, they are in italics.

At the particular time (1999) the official name of the language in Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was Serbian and this thesis adopts that term.

About the CD:

A CD is attached to this thesis, in order to avoid having extensive appendices (200 pages). The CD consists of:

1. All analyzed texts in the original language from *Politika* and *Pobjeda* written out in MS Word format
2. All scanned front pages from *Politika* and *Pobjeda* from the period March 25 – June 11, 1999.
3. Translations of the articles from March 25, both from *Politika* and *Pobjeda*
4. Translations of the articles from June 11, both from *Politika* and *Pobjeda*
5. Lyrics of the song *Otrov* by Bajaga i Instruktori

## List of abbreviations

ANEM – Association of Independent Electronic Media  
CL – Critical Linguistics  
CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis  
DM – Discourse Models  
FRY – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
ICTY – International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia  
KLA (UÇK) – Kosovo Liberation Army, in Albanian Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës  
KPJ – Komunistička partija Jugoslavije – Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
PM – Prime minister  
SDP – Socijalistička Demokratska Partija - Socialist Democratic Party (Montenegro)  
SFRY – Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia  
SFL – Systemic functional linguistics  
SNP – Socijalistička Narodna Partija - Socialist People's Party (Montenegro)  
RTCG – Radio Televizija Crne Gore – Radio Television of Montenegro  
RTS – Radio Televizija Srbije – Radio Television of Serbia  
WWII – World War II

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## 1. Introduction

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Otrov, nit' se pije, nit' se puši,	Poison, the kind that is not drunk, nor smoked
Otrov – nit' se guta nit' se njuši,	Poison, the kind that is not swallowed nor sniffed,
Otrov – ovaj ulazi u uši,	Poison, the kind that enters through your ears,
Otrov – pustinja u duši.	Poison, the kind that devastates your soul.

Bajaga i Instruktori, *Otrov*<sup>1</sup>, song from the album *Šou počinje u ponoć*

In one of his songs, Bajaga, a well known Yugoslav musician, using poison as a metaphor, gives a snapshot ‘analysis’ of the socio-political situation in Yugoslavia by drawing particular attention to the importance of politics and media. He identifies mediated politics as the main reason why ‘souls are being turned into a desert’. Politics, language and media are also the main characters in this study, but contrary to the popular notion of unidirectional influence expressed in Bajaga’s words, politics, language and media are understood here as mutually enacting, i.e. political concepts are constructed through the way language is used, and language itself is formed and influenced by politics. This interaction between politics and language, when introduced through media, is further influenced by the very choice and manner of their mediation.

Newspapers, the media that will be analyzed in this study, present their topics explicitly or implicitly using both verbal and visual resources. The choice of these resources depends on different factors, ranging from editorial politics, or the traditions of the newspapers to the political situation in the particular society. In addition, every

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<sup>1</sup>The text of the whole song is to be found on the DVD.

newspaper has its own ideology which is either explicit or implicit. The importance of media influence on public opinion has been shown in many studies (Brunner et al. 1999; Bugarski 1995, 1996, 2001, 2002; Mimica and Vučetić 2001; Tompson 2000). Even today, after a period in which the media's role has been challenged almost everywhere in the world and proven ambiguous, people still seem to expect truthfulness from the newspapers.<sup>2</sup>

One of the recent examples of a court case based on the connections between language, media and politics is the case against the Serbian politician Vojislav Šešelj at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. He is accused, among other things, of inciting hatred through political speeches, many of which were mediated both through TV and print media. The court will try to prove that Šešelj's political speeches actually led to the expulsion of non-Serbs from some villages in Vojvodina.<sup>3</sup> The power of connection between what is said and what is done is considered so strong and possible to prove that it was presented to an international court. This thesis is about exactly that topic – the connections between what is said, or equally important - what is omitted, and what is done or, in other words, language as action. It goes hand in hand with studying language-in-use i.e. studying linguistic (verbal) and semiotic (visual) choices made by the newspapers in order to answer questions of how particular identities and political relations are discursively constructed.

This chapter will first present the aim and scope of this study in detail, then describe the criteria for choosing the analytical material, give a short overview of literature on the topic, outline the structure of the thesis and finally consider briefly the analyst's role in this type of research.

### **1.1 Aims and scope of the research**

The aim of this research is to conduct a linguistic<sup>4</sup> and semiotic analysis of the discursive construction of the identities of Serbia and Montenegro, and of relations

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<sup>2</sup>Some newspapers promote themselves in ways which help maintain the illusion of truthfulness, for example: *Pobjeda* advertises with a slogan 'A trustworthy newspaper' *Novina od riječi* or the tabloid *Kurir* with 'Newspaper that uncovers the truth' *Novina koja razotkriva istinu*.

<sup>3</sup>By using the word 'instigated', the Prosecution charges that the accused Vojislav Šešelj's speeches, communications, acts and/or omissions contributed to the perpetrators' decision to commit the crimes alleged', (International Criminal Tribunal 2007) p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>The term 'linguistic analysis' is used here to denote analysis of the 'verbal language' as different from 'semiotic analysis' which is used to denote the 'visual language', i.e. the analysis of layout and photographs, even though linguistic analysis could also be understood as a part of semiotic analysis.

between Serbia and Montenegro as constructed in the front page articles of the newspapers *Politika* and *Pobjeda* during the NATO bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in 1999. The focus is on how linguistic and semiotic resources were used to build identities of Serbia and Montenegro and their relationship in the selected articles in the specified newspapers in this particular time and space. Further, this research explores how these temporal and spatial identities are connected with political and media context in general and domestic policies in particular.

The articles through which the discursive construction has been analyzed consist of front page articles from Serbian *Politika*<sup>5</sup> and Montenegrin *Pobjeda*, in which the president of FRY, Slobodan Milošević and the president of Montenegro, Milo Đukanović, as symbols of the government politics of Serbia and Montenegro respectively, were the main characters.

The questions closely connected to the aims of the research are: 1. What is the discursive construction of identity and relations? 2. Why is the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro significant? 3. Why analyze the period of the NATO bombing? 4. How can one analyze this topic? 5. Why analyze *Politika* and *Pobjeda*? These questions will be answered in the rest of this section.

Turning to the first question of discursive construction of identity<sup>6</sup> and relations, this study adopts a view of identity as ‘particular forms of semiotic potential, organized in a repertoire’ (Blommaert 2005b: 207). By concentrating on semiotic practices, this approach enables the researcher to approach identity empirically without presuming any categories like culture, nation, society, etc. to be stable. Identity is thus discursively constructed through the use of verbal and visual resources, i.e. something we do and not something we have or we are. If identity is something we do, that means that identity is changeable as we construct different ‘versions’ of ourselves dependent on situation and context we are in. To underline this changeability it is better to talk about ‘socially situated identity’ (Gee 2005). Another important aspect of identity is that its formation is a process that evolves in relation to other identities.

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<sup>5</sup>*Politika* was officially a Yugoslav newspaper, but in this study it is referred to as Serbian newspaper because it supported official views of the Serbian government or more precisely, the president Slobodan Milošević’s views. Following those views, *Politika* did not acknowledge the existence of the official Montenegrin government.

<sup>6</sup>An extensive body of work has been produced on identity, both in the social sciences and discourse studies (for an overview see Blommaert 2005b; Cerulo 1997). Identity is a heavily contested term with many different understandings. In the beginning of this study it is used in its broader, vague meaning – identities of Serbia and Montenegro. Later in the study, after analyzing the linguistic evidence, it will be shown how identity is constructed as multilayered: political, national, religious etc.

For example, in order for Montenegrin identity to be established as a democratic one, it has to be recognized by others. Another process connected to identity is the process of placing others in particular groups regardless of their consensus. That process of social categorization is called *othering* (cf. Blommaert 2007).

Nevertheless, language is not the only way of building identities. They can be also built by physical actions, like bombing, but the meaning that is constructed from bombing is, again, discursive. The relationship between language, identities and relations is reciprocal, as identities and relations are built through use of language, but they also influence the language. People get access to meaning through language, and meaning is not, in this study, understood as fixed and unchangeable, rather it is understood as situated and flexible. Accordingly, meaning can not be found in any particular news story, but is negotiated among participants in communication in a particular context. This means that identities and relations are not stable, they seek stability through linking and differentiation and they are always spatially and temporally situated (cf. Hansen 2006). These ideas are opposite to a more 'common sense' understanding of identity. People usually talk about identities and relations as something unchangeable, or something that should not change, and they are surprised, for example, when politicians change their politics after they are elected to the office (cf. Gee 2005).

The second question posed above was the question of the importance of the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro. In the period under analysis, Serbia and Montenegro were member republics of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and their relation is an important topic for several reasons:

- a) Serbia and Montenegro have a long common history of periods of political integration and disintegration. Politically, Serbia and Montenegro were different states up to 1918. After that, they were united in a common state until 2006. Montenegro became independent again in May 2006.
- b) Two leading views on the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro have been in circulation: one which conceptualized Montenegrins as a part of the Serbian people and the other which conceptualized Montenegrins as a separate ethnic group/nation. The analyzed period is a snapshot in which these two leading views meet in a crystallized form due to the war situation.
- c) The relationship between Serbia and Montenegro has invariably been constructed in relation to other powers significant at any given time, be it

Russia, Austro-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, Germany or the NATO forces. Serbia and Montenegro thus offer a microcosm of more global political relationships.

- d) Montenegrin independence was one of the rare cases of peacefully achieved independence in the Balkans.

The third question concerns the reasons why the NATO bombing of FRY was a significant political event both for FRY and for world politics. Apart from the human suffering and material destruction, it raised important moral, judicial, political and humanitarian issues. The NATO bombing was also the triggering factor for more severe internal political struggle between the governments of Serbia and Montenegro and among different political parties in Serbia and Montenegro. It was also the time when the debate of Montenegrin identity came to the foreground (Roberts 2007: 430). These points will be elaborated further in Chapter 5. The discourses that evolve within such dramatic periods in history are usually constrained by different factors: media, economy, politics, the psychological state of the people involved, etc. At the same time, crises encourage hidden messages to come explicitly to the surface (cf. Blommaert 2005b: 137) and provide a clearer picture of conflicts.

In order to answer the fourth question posed, how to analyze discursively constructed relations between Serbia and Montenegro as mediated in newspapers, a set of new questions must be asked. Who are the participants in the media texts and what relationships are conceptualized between the participants? How are identities built for those participants? How are they categorized? How do linguistic (lexico-grammar, metaphors, media genres, voices and intertextuality) and semiotic resources (images, layout etc.) contribute to meaning construction of the social relations between Serbia and Montenegro? How does context influence text and vice versa? In order to answer these questions, discourse analysis, i.e. the analysis of linguistic and semiotic resources in context, i.e., was chosen as an entry point for the study. In discourse analysis, not only inclusions, but also exclusions or omissions (cf. Đerić forthcoming) in texts are considered to play a crucial role in meaning-making. Since the omission of particular topics is more easily detected in a comparative study, the value of analyzing more than one newspaper is highlighted.

And the final question posed concerned the selection of these particular newspapers to analyze. The Serbian newspaper *Politika* and the Montenegrin newspaper *Pobjeda* were seen as the mouthpieces of Serbian and Montenegrin governments respectively

during the analyzed period and as such represented official political views through the discourses they constructed.<sup>7</sup> As institutional voices are the topic of this study, *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were chosen as representatives of newspapers in which institutional voices were foregrounded (for more about choice of material see below, 1.2). Even though the connection between the governments and newspapers were presupposed, at the start of the study it was not known what kind of ideology and what kind of connection that was. This study thus also aims to illuminate the relationship between the newspapers, governments and ideologies.

As an extra dimension in understanding the context of the analyzed texts, I interviewed one journalist from *Politika* and two journalists and one photographer from *Pobjeda* who were working in these newspapers during the period of NATO bombing. The choice of the informants was random – they were the ones who I could find and who were willing to talk to me. The main purpose of these interviews was to achieve a better understanding of the context in which they worked. The interaction took the form of unstructured interviews and included questions about production process, organizational issues, front page production, newspapers politics, language use and function of illustrations (photographs). Rather than being intended for in-depth analysis themselves, the interview materials were seen as providing additional insight into the news analysis.

This study will not address audience responses as it is impossible to do that without a reception study. Even if audience research were undertaken today it would be a reception study of memories of the particular event or relation in time that is long gone. Nevertheless, the audience's position is reflected upon in this study in a sense of their possible reading positions.<sup>8</sup> This study by and large follows the preferred reading position, meaning that the readers accept, to a certain degree, the narratives presented to them by the newspapers even though they did not necessarily trust the source of information.<sup>9</sup> 'Accepting' in this case means that the readers had to relate to and engage with the narratives without being able to check them. As with all texts, the analyzed texts are open to a range of different potential readings.

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<sup>7</sup>Although not officially sanctioned as such, *Politika* and *Pobjeda* are generally understood by the public to be official newspapers.

<sup>8</sup>Following Hall (1980/94), there are at least three different reading positions: dominant/hegemonic (preferred), negotiated and oppositional. A dominant reading position would be one that goes along with the preferred reading of the text, a negotiated reading position sees different positions in the text while an oppositional reading position opposes the main views of the text.

<sup>9</sup>Tomson (2000: 313) points to this contradiction.

### 1.2 Corpus

Choosing the material for this study was a long process. After posing the research questions, the possibility for choice of material was large: one could have analyzed material from newspapers, radio or TV. Radio and TV were discarded very quickly as the materials were difficult or impossible to obtain. Newspapers were, for pragmatic reasons, a better choice. In addition, research has shown that the connection between official TV stations, Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) and Radio Television of Montenegro (RTCG) and pro-government newspapers was a relationship of reenactment (Kurspahić 2003). That means that the same views and the same framings of events were present on the official TV channels and pro-government newspapers.

So which newspapers were most appropriate? The media landscape of Serbia and Montenegro was versatile, but polarized due to the war situation. There were newspapers that could be characterized as pro- and anti-government. Thus, it was possible to choose either pro- or anti-government or a combination of those newspapers. Among different voices that were given space at the time, of primary interest for this study were the institutional voices. For that reason the pro-government newspapers *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were chosen. As pro-government newspapers they gave space to the view(s) that supported their respective governments. The contribution of *Politika* and *Pobjeda* to the construction of the institutional, government discourse, which also circulated on national and international pro-government news channels, was considerable (Brunner et al. 1999; Bugarski 1995; Kurspahić 2003) even though the readership of these newspapers dropped during the 1990's (Marović 2002). As the interest of this thesis is in the official, institutional discourse, these two newspapers were thought to be good representatives.

As it was not possible to analyze all the texts in the chosen newspapers, a further narrowing of focus was necessary. After all issues of *Politika* and *Pobjeda* from March 25, to June 11, 1999 had been read once, the articles and accompanying photographs to be analyzed were selected according to the following criteria:

a) Relevance of the article to the research questions

Front page articles in which Đukanović and Milošević were the main characters were chosen for closer analysis. The reason for this choice was that these politicians were official representatives of their governments. As such they were metonyms for their republics, and they were given large amount of space on the front pages in the newspaper. Front pages are privileged places in all newspapers because they offer an

arena for editors and others involved in news production to structure the world for the readers. The foregrounded topics which are found on front pages are meant to be the most important, seen from the newspapers' point of view. There is, however, one exception in the material. The article published on *Pobjeda's* front page on June 11, 1999, whose main character was Svetozar Marović, the president of Montenegrin Assembly, was selected for analysis. The reasons for this exception are: Đukanović was not present on the front page on June 11, whereas the article published on that day with Marović as the main character gives a snapshot of the situation after the war and can be compared to Milošević's snapshot of the situation in his address published on the same day. Further, Marović was one of the three important politicians during the analyzed period so that his words would not differ considerably from Đukanović's. And finally, the subject of this study is the newspapers' discourse and not Đukanović's and Milošević's discourse.

### b) Balance between quantity and practicability

The number of texts in the corpus was the result of finding a balance between the inclusion of a sufficient number of texts in order to provide validity to the argument and the need to keep the analysis manageable given the constraints of time. Out of 79 issues of *Politika* published from March 25 to June 11, 1999, Slobodan Milošević was the main character in 51 (68%) front page articles. His photo was shown on 45 front pages (57% of all front pages in the period; there were 52 photographs, as some issues had several photographs on the first page). During the same period in *Pobjeda*, president Đukanović was the main character in 39 (50%) front page articles. Đukanović's photo was printed on 36 front pages (46% of all front pages in the period). In addition, as mentioned above, one article in which Marović was the main character was analyzed. This led to a corpus of approximately 16600 words in *Politika* and approximately 15600 words in *Pobjeda*. In the following, reference to patterns of meaning in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* should be understood as shorthand for referring to those *Politika* and *Pobjeda* texts included in the corpus.

ANALYZED MATERIAL FROM <i>POLITIKA</i>	ANALYZED MATERIAL FROM <i>POBJEDA</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 79 first pages</li> <li>• 51 front page articles: approximately 16600 words</li> <li>• 52 photographs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 79 first pages</li> <li>• 39 + 1 front page articles: approximately 15600 words</li> <li>• 36 photographs</li> </ul>

Table 1.1: The *Politika* and *Pobjeda* corpus



The distribution of the articles in the corpus is shown in Appendix 1. Longer absences (three days or more) of Milošević and Đukanović from the front pages were noticed in the following periods: in *Politika*, between May 16 and 29 and between June 5-8 and in *Pobjeda*, between April 6-13, May 1-5 and 27-29 and June 1-4.<sup>10</sup>

### c) Time frame

The whole period of the NATO bombing, including one day after the bombing stopped, is included in the analysis, even though not all articles are directly relevant to the question of the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro. Newspaper articles from the periods before and after the NATO bombing were not included in this study as the focus of the study is the NATO bombing and a comparison between *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. A more extensive diachronic analysis of the periods before and after the NATO bombing could be a topic for some future study.

## 1.3 Literature review

The texts chosen for analysis were mediated through written media – newspapers. Thematically they address the political and social developments during the NATO bombing of FRY, and could be placed within a media political discourse in general and war discourse in particular. These variables - newspaper, politics, media and war - are covered in the research literature in different combinations. They will be addressed in the following sections.

### 1.3.1 Media and the wars in the former Yugoslavia

A number of interdisciplinary studies have been published concerning the role played by the media in wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990's (Brunner et al. 1999; Bugarski 1995, 2001, 2002; Felberg 1992; Jakšić 1996; Kurspahić 2003; Popov 1996, 1999; Thompson 2000; Valić-Nedeljković 1997). Most of these studies have been done within a critical orientation, and some of them incorporate activist elements in them like, for example, Bugarski and Jakšić. Activist elements here means that their purpose was to change the way people use language, in these cases from 'war' to 'peace' language. All of the above mentioned studies point at the connection between

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<sup>10</sup>One can only speculate about the reasons for absences of Milošević and Đukanović from the front pages during those particular periods in time. It is possible to make certain connections as for example: *Politika* made Milošević absent during the period when the military agreement was being made, thus avoiding responsibility for it, while *Pobjeda* made Đukanović absent during the period when the worst bombing of civilians in Montenegro took place (when bombs fell on the village Murino), avoiding having to judge NATO too hard. This type of connections will not be persuaded further as there is not enough evidence to make the causal relation between the events and absences on the first pages.

the ways language and media are used in times of crisis; all take a critical stance towards media. One of the common conclusions in these works is that by controlling the media, politicians were able to control the public opinion in different parts of the former Yugoslavia and in that way contribute to making wars happen. At the same time this unidirectional argument was modified somewhat by analyzing other political, socio-cultural factors and pointing at the mutually reinforced nature of media and politics. In Serbia, Milošević was singled out as the politician who used explicit strategies to control the media (from removing editors-in-chief and journalists to adopting unfavorable information laws). The Serbian public went along with it because it was accustomed to trusting one-party media (Tompson 2000). Accordingly, both the media and Milošević were given the main blame for deceiving the ‘innocent public’.

### **1.3.2 NATO bombing and the media**

The NATO bombing and media have been the topic of several interdisciplinary studies (Goff 1999; Hemond and Herman 2001; Lakić 2005; Nohrstedt et al. 2000; Nohrstedt et al. 2002; Ottosen 2002). These studies have presented a critical view of the role both western and Serbian media played in this conflict. Several of these works use critical discourse analysis inspired by Norman Fairclough in their analysis (Lakić 2005; Ottosen 2002). Ottosen (2002) gives an overview over Norwegian newspaper’s coverage of NATO bombing and concludes that the media in Norway was biased. Lakić (2005) compares macro and micro structures of news in media coverage of certain topics in three Montenegrin newspapers of different political affiliations (*Pobjeda* - pro-Montenegrin government, *Vijesti* - independent, *Dan* - pro-Serbian) with three British newspapers (*Guardian* - left, *Independent* - center and *Times* - right). This is a unique and voluminous study in which Lakić (2005) claims to provide the first substantial linguistic research into such discourse. He has indeed covered a significant amount of material, but the very wealth of material understandably constrains the depth of the linguistic analysis. Accordingly, I believe that there is still a lack of systematic, detailed linguistic and semiotic analysis of media texts which is necessary to enable us to do close readings of different versions of political events. One of the aims of this study is to rectify this shortcoming.

### 1.3.3 Relations between Serbia and Montenegro

The relationship between Serbia and Montenegro has been a topic of studies within history and political science, usually concentrating on particular periods of time (see the overview in Komatina [1999]). Only rarely do analyses give a longer historical perspective of the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro (Đurović and Pavićević forthcoming; Komatina 1999; Petrović and Stanković 2006).

To my knowledge, there is no linguistic/semiotic study of the construction of the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro in general and during the NATO bombing in particular. This study is thus one of the few studies in Serbia/Montenegro that combine the analysis of linguistic and semiotic resources in Serbian, in order to research a socio-political question. It also provides a novel combination of in-depth contextual analysis with linguistic/semiotic analysis. Further, the study sheds light on the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro during a period that has not yet been researched in detail. Because of the linguistic/semiotic evidence it produces, it could be a contribution to other research within the fields of, for example, history, political science and media studies.

### 1.4 Identities, relations and events

As mentioned above, identities are in this study understood as being defined, created, sustained and transformed in relation to other identities. Similarly, political relations are created 'in relation to' other relations. This means, for example, that in *Pobjeda*'s version, Đukanović is building his own and Montenegro's identities as democratic ones, as opposed to Milošević's identities which *Pobjeda* categorizes as autocratic. *Politika*'s version has Milošević building his own identity as a freedom fighter as opposed to NATO's identity as an aggressor. These relations are built through the use of linguistic and semiotic resources in context, i.e. discourse. A direct causal connection between discourse and political events is difficult to prove. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify key events that are formed by, and which form, discourses. Examples of such events that influenced and were influenced by the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro in the corpus are:

1. Addresses to the people by Milošević and Đukanović published one day after the NATO bombing started
2. Yugoslav proclamation of the state of war/Montenegro Assembly's proclamation of non-participation in the war
3. Serbia's and Montenegro's different alliances

1. FRY's (without Montenegro) proposal to join Russia-Belorussian cooperation /Montenegro's rejection
2. Montenegro's intensive political activities – Đukanović visits to European cities during the bombing ; seeking alliances with the western powers
4. Religion as a common denominator
5. Tension between the Montenegrin police and the Yugoslav army
6. The interview/address to the people published a day after the bombing stopped

Using these events as anchor points, it is possible to see how the newspapers discursively construct different situations and how this may contribute to constructing a country's identity and the relationship between the countries. The goal of the newspapers, seen as official mouth pieces, was to make strong links between identities and these anchor points. *Politika* discursively constructed the war as an aggressive act, and at the same time it constructed Serbian actions as policies to address the problem, while *Pobjeda* constructed the war as a punitive action against FRY and constructed a Montenegrin policy of not resisting NATO. The materiality of the physically real bombing was given meaning through different identity and relations constructions.

Discursive encounters between Serbia and Montenegro entailed a component of asymmetric power relations. Serbia and Montenegro were politically and economically two unequal partners at the time. Serbia made important decisions during the period without involving Montenegro's government: for example, deciding to enter an economic, political and military alliance with Russia and Belorussia; issuing commands to the Yugoslav Army in Montenegro, etc. The existence of Montenegro's political self was not acknowledged by Milošević. He did not even mention Montenegro on the front pages, but Montenegro's role was criticized with all means, by other voices in other, less prominent, places in *Politika*. On the other hand, Đukanović was trying to make space for himself by adopting a European 'democracy discourse' – which he explicitly juxtaposed to Milošević's 'autocratic' discourse. He omitted the topic of his political friendship with Milošević which had lasted almost a decade (1989-1997). Can we talk about the discursive encounter when one side does not acknowledge the existence of the other side? I would propose that it is possible to talk about discursive encounters, as omission is also a form of discursive encounter (see Đerić forthcoming; Gergen and Gergen 2006; and Chapter 7 below).

### **1.5 Overview of the thesis**

This study is metaphorically conceptualized as a stage with the main object of attention in center-stage. The stage is surrounded by the reflectors that illuminate the object of the study. The reflectors are divided in three groups, which correspond to the three parts of the study, and each reflector corresponds to one chapter. The reflectors throw light in different angles: Part I of this study consisting of Chapters 2 and 3 throws theoretical and methodological or wide-angle light; Part II, Chapters 4 and 5 illuminates contextual and co-textual layers through medium-angle light and finally Part III, Chapters 6-9, in the manner of spotlights, focuses on particular linguistic and semiotic points. These different reflectors represent different perspectives that uncover different dimensions of the object of the study. The places where these lights merge are the spaces where the results of this study are found. They are addressed in the concluding remarks together with the study's limitations and recommendations.

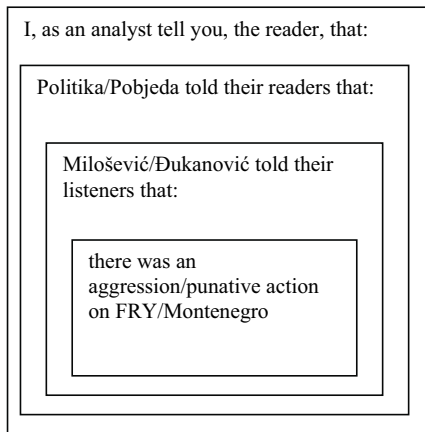
The central object of attention has been identified above as media political texts in context. Part I, the wide-angle lens of Chapters 2 and 3 presents an overview of the theoretical and methodological frameworks adopted in this study. These chapters draw on ideas and concepts from social sciences and linguistics and the fuzzy boundaries where these disciplines are in dialogue, such as critical discourse analysis primarily associated with Norman Fairclough, socio-cognitive linguistics associated with James Paul Gee, and social semiotics associated with Theo van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress. This blend of theories has been chosen as it suited the nature of the chosen material in the best way: critical discourse analysis provides insights into language as social action, socio-cognitive linguistics underlines the importance of both individuals and society in analyzing language, and social semiotics extends the analysis to semiotic resources beyond language. Crossing over the old disciplinary lines, those between language and the social sciences, also involves taking a stance on how the linguist understands society. The idea from social constructionism, that reality is socially constructed through discourse, has a major influence on this work. The social part of the theory bridges over to the social components in the linguistic paradigms used. In Chapter 3 an overview of the analytical steps taken, an overall model of the analysis and methodology is provided. The methodology is also a blend made for the purpose of analyzing the specific texts. The blend is made through a constant movement between the texts, context and theories of language and society.

After the theoretical and analytical approaches are outlined, the study turns to illuminating the selected texts in Part II, first in Chapter 4, through contextualization by focusing on political and media layers of context. Rather than following text linguistic conventions of treating context as being outside textual analysis, this thesis follows more recent research which redefines context as a part of the analysis. Accordingly, context is understood in socio-cognitive terms, as our own mental models of identities and relations. Chapter 4 also analyzes the media as an institution and its constraints on discourse in Serbia and Montenegro. The main aims are to find out (i) if there are differences in the ideological positions that different institutions have, as voiced through newspapers, (ii) if so, which differences exist and (iii) how identities are created and articulated through these institutional positions. The understanding of ideological positioning of the newspapers helps in understanding the texts that are produced. The particular conditions of the war situation are also addressed. Chapter 5 situates the media political language spatially and temporally. This is done by casting a diachronic glance at the political language connected to one-party and multi-party political systems. Particular characteristics of the political media language, like nominalization, categorization levels, lexical peculiarities, etc. are identified and analyzed.

Part III, the spotlight analysis, presents the main focus of this thesis. Chapter 6 analyzes primarily on the visual level, and Chapters 7-9 primarily on the verbal level. The term primarily is used here because visual and verbal resources were separated for the purpose of the analysis, but as it turns out, this analytical distinction overlooks that meaning is largely created through verbal-visual interaction. Nevertheless, Chapter 6 focuses on visual analysis of layout, photographs and headlines on the front pages of *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. The importance of genre used in the corpus is also addressed in this chapter. Chapter 7 presents the linguistic and semiotic description and interpretation of the addresses given by Milošević and Đukanović to the nation/citizens, which diagnose the situation and the implications of the new political situation, Chapter 8 analyzes the articles in which relationships between Serbia or Montenegro and their political alliances and enemies were discursively drawn up, and Chapter 9 presents the analysis of the final interview/address given by Marović and Milošević in which the situation after the bombing is discursively constructed as diametrically opposed.

### **1.6 Role of the analyst**

While doing this research I have seen my job as contextualizing chosen texts and interpreting them, or, in other words, constructing how textual practices were transformed into social practices and vice versa. While exercising this hermeneutic (interpretative) capacity to inhabit a stance on data, I myself constructed a new discourse world, foregrounding certain questions and backgrounding others. That seems to be unavoidable, but important to be aware of. An example of the analyst's construction of a discourse world in this study is given in Figure 1.1.



*Figure 1.1: The analyst's construction of mediated discourse of one event*

I as an analyst am a part of the discourse culture I am analyzing, so I am no different from the object of my research. Reflection and humbleness were my ways of trying to deal with this challenge. Further, my job was complicated by the fact that there is no ultimate context, and thus no ultimate interpretation. A remedy for this is to employ a diversity of approaches. It is difficult for the analyst to claim that she has uncovered 'the real intention' behind any text. In order to do that one should have to analyze processes of text production and text reception. This is not the topic of this study. But discourse analysis can show linguistic and semiotic patterns which index, for example, a certain power asymmetry in a society – and in that way say something about the chosen material. Finally, my position could be categorized as a critical one,

in a sense that any interpreting is *per se* critical (cf. Gee 2003). In addition, my view that there are certain asymmetries in all societies which are constructed and reproduced through discourse can also be categorized as critical. But, my research is not interested in the question of whose ideology is right or wrong, but rather how these asymmetries are enacted, sustained and/or transformed in discourse. There are also no elements of an explicit cry for social action connected to this research – which removes this research from the larger project of Critical Discourse Analysis. Nevertheless, as the research is meant to contribute to other research, there is a possibility of this study contributing to some indirect social action.



## **PART I**

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### Chapter 2 and Chapter 3

Theoretical and methodological frameworks



## **2. Theoretical framework**

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The choice of theoretical framework in this study was guided primarily by the type of questions asked – i.e. questions about how the identities of, and the relationship between, Serbia and Montenegro were discursively constructed through media discourse – as well as the type of material analyzed in order to answer those questions. As language-in-use and language as action, is to be analyzed, the field of discourse studies is an obvious choice. Discourse studies can broadly be defined as ‘the discipline devoted to the investigation of the relationship between form and function in verbal communication’ (Renkema 2004:1).<sup>11</sup> As such, discourse studies is an interdisciplinary field where different disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, philosophy, media studies, etc. can enrich each other, both theoretically and methodologically. Many studies have been conducted using different interdisciplinary combinations, emphasizing either social or linguistic aspects or combining both (Blommaert 2005b; Brunner et al. 1999; Bugarski 1995; Chilton 2004; Chouliaraki 2000; Fairclough 1995b; Tompson 2000; Wodak and Mayer 2001, etc). In FRY, Svenka Savić introduced discourse studies by publishing an overview of discourse analysis (Savić 1993) and introducing it as a subject at the University of Novi Sad. A considerable amount of work was produced by students within this paradigm (for example, discourse analysis of radio reports [Valić-Nedeljković 1997]; or discourse analysis of political speeches [Pankov 2005]), but this pioneering work was neither

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<sup>11</sup>Although discourse studies investigate spoken and other types of communication as well, in this thesis written communication is in focus.

systematized nor was it followed up and developed by other scholars. Studies done by Bugarski (Bugarski 1995, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2002) and Čolović (Čolović 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001b) also contribute to the discourse analytical approach in FRY.

The interdisciplinary field within which this study is conducted is a multiperspectival blend of linguistic approaches: socio-cognitive linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis and social semiotics.<sup>12</sup> The last two are inspired by Systemic Functional Linguistics and they are combined with social constructionist perspective on society. The entry point to this study is thus linguistic and semiotic. This distinction is made in order to analytically separate linguistic and semiotic analysis. Linguistic analysis refers to the analysis of verbal language, and semiotic analysis refers to the analysis of visual language. Verbal language consists of words and visual language consists of layout, photographs, graphic design, etc. A combined linguistic and semiotic approach helps to describe and interpret the newspaper material, while a constructionist perspective on society helps to explain some connections between text and social context. Rather than trying to describe the enormous amount of work done within these linguistic and social theories, this chapter will concentrate on the parts from the theories that are significant for the study. Likewise, the study will not include full blown sociological research; it should instead function as the fundamental linguistic/semiotic analysis that will be useful for future sociological, political, media or historical research.

In the first part of this chapter, a general perspective on communication will be outlined, after which the main points adopted from different theoretical approaches will be identified. Connections between language and society as well as relations between language, politics, ideology and media seen through different theoretical lenses will be addressed. Further, the main points adopted from different linguistic approaches will be identified and described. This chapter is closely connected to the following chapter on the analytical model and methodology used. Theory and methodology overlap in this study, and the division between them is drawn here for analytical purposes only. Throughout this study, theoretical and methodological points will be revisited and further developed as they appear in the analysis.

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<sup>12</sup>As I became acquainted with the material I broadened my object of analysis from only verbal language to include visual language such as photographs, layout, font size, font type etc.

Before turning to the theoretical model used in this study, concepts of *discourse*<sup>13</sup> and *text* will be defined here as their semantic fields have become very wide and they are used in diverse ways in different studies. In linguistic terms discourse has been understood either as ‘a stretch of text larger than a sentence or linguistic structures actually used by people: language-in-use’ (Blommaert 2005b: 2). ‘A stretch of text larger than a sentence’ implies a focus on the text, while language-in-use implies a focus on text in context. Further, analysing language-in-use is opposed to analysing language as a system as has been done in the Chomskyan approach. In other words, analysing text in context, discourse, is opposed to analysing isolated text. Discourse can thus be understood as a process, while text is understood as a product. Accordingly, text in this study is understood as the product of processes of text production, i.e. the written articles in newspapers, photographs and layout. This wider understanding of text, which includes both visual and verbal language, is inspired by Halliday’s (Halliday and Hasan 1989) understanding of text. Discourse, which is understood as the whole process of social interaction, consists of a number of texts. Text analysis is an important part of discourse analysis, as texts provide cues which direct the analyst towards social conditions whose understanding is necessary in order to analyze discourse.

As language is used in a society, it is here understood as form of social practice (Austin 1975[1961]; Blommaert 2005b; Fairclough 1995b; Levinson 1983; etc). Understanding language as social practice implies that language is a mode of action that is situated in time and space. The relationship between language and society is understood as dialectic; ‘language is socially shaped, but is also socially shaping’ (Fairclough 1995b: 55; Gee 2005). The understanding of discourse in this study merges the above views – discourse is understood as language-in-use and language as social practice. In order to study discourse one has to study both the linguistic and semiotic resources that constitute it and the context in which it is enacted.

### **2.1 Communication as a joint enterprise**

There are at least two different views on communication: a view which sees communication as monologic and a view which sees communication as a dialogic

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<sup>13</sup>Discourse has been an object of study of large and growing body of work. It is not the aim of this study to discuss all possible uses of this term as there are many good overview works on the topic (e.g. Savić 1993; van Dijk 1997; Mills 2004; Renkema 2004; Fairclough 2005b; Wodak 2001; Blommaert 2005; Gee 2005 etc.)

enterprise. Conceptualizing communication as a one way relation between an active sender who sends a message to a passive receiver denies the agency of the receiver/hearer. This model was formed as a necessary scientific simplification of the communication, but it had a powerful influence on creating a false impression of a complex and active process of communication (cf. Vološinov 1980: xxv). This type of understanding of communication is often conceptualized as a conduit metaphor (Reddy [1993 [1979]] cited in Taylor [2002]) in which:

1. *Ideas and thoughts are objects*
2. *Words and sentences are containers for these objects*
3. *Communication is finding the right word-container for an idea-object, sending this filled container along a conduit or through space to the hearer who must take the idea-object out of the word container.*

The conduit metaphor is exchanged in this study for a metaphor of joint action (Renkema 2004: 42). That means that both the speaker and hearer are participants in the communication and they construct meaning together. In the very act of receiving and understanding a statement, the hearer takes up a position, an answer to the statement, and agrees with it or not. This type of *answering position* (odgovorna pozicija) is being formed during the whole process of communication (Vološinov 1980: xxiii), making communication a dialogic enterprise. That means that every statement is imminently social because it is formed by the social communication between social actors, between '*I*' and '*You*'. Statements are not determined solely by the person uttering them – they are also formed by the addressee (Vološinov 1980: xxix). Language and other semiotic resources are resources which enable communication while the construal of a current joint action is simultaneously a reiteration of prior joint actions. The arguments seem to be formulated with speech in mind. The term dialogic evokes an image of two people speaking.

What about communication in print? When written texts are analyzed it is easier to overlook the agency that recipients have. How do readers participate in constructing the meaning? Writers construct their messages with readers in mind. Readers are participating first by reading the texts, then by constructing their own interpretation of the texts, then acting upon them in different ways. Readers can actively participate by articulating their views in the form of letters or Internet messages; they can demonstrate against the editorial politics of the newspapers; discuss the views with

their friends and continue the discursive construction. Or they can choose not to react at all.

Philosophical questions about how communication functions and what principles underlie successful communication have been discussed in many studies, such as Grice's influential cooperation principles (Grice 1975) or Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995 [1986]). As this study's main focus is political language during war time, two principles forwarded by Škiljan (1996) are interesting to mention. He proposes the principle of cooperation or consensus and the principle of human relationship or cannibalism. The principle of cooperation means that participants in communication have to *a priori* agree with the message no matter what the message is if they belong to the same symbolical unit or in-group. Accordingly, if participants in communication are readers of *Politika* or *Pobjeda*, they have to agree with the messages constructed by those newspapers and if they do not, they stop belonging to the in-group. The other principle, the principle of cannibalism means that a participant in communication is allowed to bring as much 'evil' as possible to all non-participants, or members of the out-group, in communication. With 'evil', he refers to the notion that it is permissible to use any linguistic and semiotic means possible in order to discredit the out-group. This second principle can be connected to the *ideological square* proposed by van Dijk (van Dijk 2000: 44) in which following rules are followed in communication:

Emphasize positive things about Us

Emphasize negative things about Them

De-emphasize negative things about Us

De-emphasize positive things about Them

These principles will be connected with the analysis in Part III of this study.

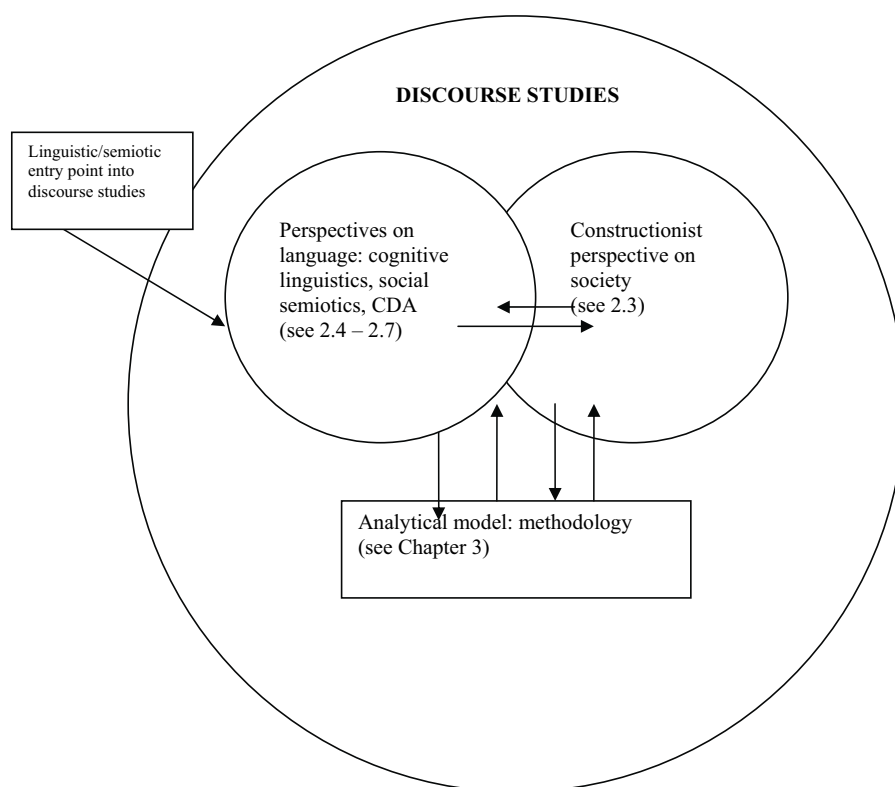
### **2.2 A blend of theoretical approaches**

The model of the theoretical approaches used in this study is shown in Figure 2.1.<sup>14</sup> As the corpus consists of multimodal texts, a linguistic and semiotic entry point is chosen into the discourse studies (left circle in the model). On the other hand, the aim of analyzing multimodal texts is an improved understanding of relations between social and political identities, so that the perspective on society is an important

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<sup>14</sup>Broad labels like cognitive linguistics, CDA, constructionist theory are employed in this study for ease of presentation, but the analyst fully acknowledges the variety of perspectives found within each of these paradigms.

component of discourse studies (right circle in the model). The connection between society and language, as well as the main elements of this perspective on society are explored in 2.3.1. Particular attention is given to politics and media as important layers of context. Often, when politics and media mix, questions of power and ideology appear. They are touched upon here and further analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5. Components in the left circle in the model in Figure 2.1 are addressed in sections 2.4 to 2.7, where elements from the diverse linguistic approaches relevant to this study are identified and analyzed. Finally, the theoretical approach identified in this chapter is reflexively connected to the analytical model and methodology used in this study which will be presented in Chapter 3.



*Figure 2.1: Model of discourse studies as used in this study*



### ***2.3 Perspectives on society: language and society***

There are a number of ways, sometimes conflicting, in which one can understand the connections between language and society. Two main views on these connections can be understood through the use of two metaphors: that of a 'mirror' and that of a 'construction yard' (Potter 1996: 97). The 'mirror metaphor' gives language the function of a mirror which merely reflects the social reality and the world that language exists in. That presupposes the idea that there is one, given social reality, or only one way to understand it. On the other hand, the 'construction yard metaphor' foregrounds the idea that people construct different versions of the world through different use of language. This study will adopt the 'construction yard metaphor' in understanding the connection between language and society because such an understanding opens up space for posing questions about how different parts of language are constructed and assembled and what different constructions it produces. Accordingly, the existence of the physical world is not questioned, but the physical world is only given meaning through discourse. For example, NATO bombs fell on the territory of FRY in 1999, but the understanding of that event ranged from humanitarian action (in some NATO media), via aggression (in some Yugoslav media) and punitive action (in some Montenegrin media) to personal tragedy (as understood by some victims).

This type of thinking is not unknown in linguistics. Sapir and Whorf, for example, (Mandelbaum 1986; Whorf 1956) stated in their hypothesis that people's perception is determined by the language they use. They were talking about different languages, but the same thought can be applied when talking about the same language, as in this study. The lacuna in their work was the failure to conceptualise language as social practice, a notion that was later picked up and developed by Critical Linguistics (Fowler 1991; Hodge and Kress 1993[1979]). Roger Fowler's seminal book 'Language in the News', for example, marked the beginning of increased research interest in the study of the language of media. The need for contextualizing linguistic findings within the media specific moments of production, consumption, regulation, etc. has also been pointed out by numerous other authors (Brunner et al. 1999; Fairclough 1995b; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Kurspahić 2003). The institutional structure, economy and ownership of media are some of the elements that define and

influence the journalistic discourse. Chapter 4 will draw on the Serbian and Montenegrin corpus to show that the production practices and regulations that were valid during the period of analysis affected the language and other semiotic resources in the reporting, and vice versa.

Combining a social constructionism that is for some authors explicitly anti-cognitivist (Potter 1996: 103) and socio-cognitive linguistics in this work may seem contradictory. This study analyzes particular discourse, language-in-use, by identifying linguistic and semiotic resources used. The semiotic resources are found in the texts as Potter would claim. So far, so good. But, the difference comes when a socio-cognitive linguist claims that the patterns found in discourse point at cognitive models formed in mind, while Potter claims that the cognitivist level is simply irrelevant and not helpful to social research. Without entering into this philosophical discussion, which will probably continue to evolve in the time to come, this study analyzes discourse on the social level drawing on both traditions as both help to illuminate the object of analysis. The social constructionist perspective points to the flexibility of patterns found in discourse while the socio-cognitive approach also provides the analytical tools for analysing discourse.

### **2.3.1 Language, politics, ideology and media**

This study concentrates on two important areas of social life, politics and media, and their connection with language. Both politics and media are discursively constructed. Both political and media discourses are important as they contribute to building identities and relations through the construction of, for example, closeness/distance, space/time, us/them polarity etc. as well as knowledge and belief systems within a particular society. When one reads newspapers, one constructs meaning from represented reality mediated through the newspapers. When a discourse analyst analyzes media texts, it is this mediated version of reality which is the object of study. The mediated version of reality is constructed and represented by means of linguistic and semiotic resources. The decoding of these resources is highly dependent on both situated meaning<sup>15</sup> of the text and its place in a wider context. There are at least two views of the media's role in society.<sup>16</sup> One view is that media has the main role in

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<sup>15</sup> 'A situated meaning is an image or pattern that we assemble 'on the spot' as we communicate in a given context, based on our construal of that context and on our past experiences.' (Gee 2005: 65)

<sup>16</sup> For discussions about these different views in the Balkan context see Kurspahić 2003; Tomson 2000).

forming people's opinions and merely transfers knowledge and beliefs onto its audience. This view conceptualizes the audience as a passive participant in communication. On the other hand, media can be conceptualized as one side in a dialogical negotiation of meaning, the other part being readers/viewers. This view makes the audience an active participant and as such more responsible in a communication process. In this latter approach *Politika* or *Pobjeda* and its audience are engaged in viewing some 'facet of the world' (Langacker 2001). They are engaged in a dialogical negotiation of meaning. By being the initiator in a public discourse, *Politika/Pobjeda* presents their focus on the 'viewing frame', but the other side is supposed to be able to change the focus of the viewing frame. In both approaches to understanding media, the question of power and ideology appears. This study's understanding of ideology follows Knox's definition:

Ideology is the process (viewed dynamically) and systems (viewed synoptically) of meaning whereby individuals and groups position themselves and others relative to one another and to resources (material and semiotic). It is the discursive distribution/(re)negotiation of power (Knox 2007:19).

Who has the power to choose the viewing frame and give space to particular voices in a discussion? Sometimes it is obvious, as in the newspapers and period that is analyzed in this study – the government in FRY/Serbia had the power and means to influence the viewing frame of *Politika* and the government in Montenegro had the power and means to influence the viewing frame in *Pobjeda*. The way the influence was exerted is connected with the ideologies held by the governments at that particular time.

The very concept of mediation evokes concepts of subjectivity and objectivity which can be further connected with concepts of evaluation and agency in language (cf. White 1999). Writing about facts in an objective manner has been the main ideal of the news media. The concept of objectivity becomes important if one engages in CDA, in which media texts are considered *a priori* ideological and in which it is presupposed that there is a truth that can be uncovered behind the words. This study shifts the focus away from the philosophical question of whether there is a truer truth behind representations – as is often assumed in CDA work – to the focus on different constructions of identities and relations.

There are of course, numerous further elements that can influence mediation, which will be addressed in this study. They range from production and regulation of the

media, which is influenced or created by the politics/ideology in a particular time and place, to the importance of form (selection of front page content; headlines/leads; multi-modal elements: photographs, fonts, placement on the page, etc.) and construction of who is foregrounded/backgrounded and who is given voice or silenced. Journalists as well as analysts are themselves influenced by their own beliefs, diverse ideologies, the country's rules and laws, etc. These points will be further explored in Chapter 5.

The complexity of different roles and different levels in mediation in politics can be seen through the following example. Đukanović (speaker) gives a speech written by himself and/or scriptwriter(s) (source) in front of a TV crew (hearers), but the speech is addressed to the broader public (addressees), and the speech is recorded by journalists (recipients), and written in a new medium, newspapers. The actual aim of the event was to communicate with the national/international electorate/audience (target). These levels and roles are often invisible in the everyday consumption of media political discourses.

Political discourse used in a war situation is often referred to as war propaganda. If propaganda is understood in its broad definition as a 'deliberate and systemic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist' (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1992: 4 – quoted in Nohrstedts et al 2000: 384) then many other types of discourse can be categorized as propaganda, for example, advertisements. Propaganda is often closely connected to questions of what is true and what is not, but this study will not pay particular attention to the question of propaganda. This is an empirical study of political discourse mediated in pro-government newspapers through the analysis of language practices, including the visual semiotic, in their institutional context, i.e., the meeting of political and media institutions in specific coverage of the NATO bombing. This study is not about finding who was right and who was wrong during the NATO bombing.

### ***2.4 Perspectives on language***

In this section, different aspects of the three linguistic approaches adopted in this study will be examined in relation to their contribution to discourse studies in general and to discourse studies of political media texts in particular. These approaches, socio-cognitive linguistics, CDA and social semiotics, are shown schematically in

Table 2.2 and described individually in the following sections. One of the common traits shared across the approaches is a functionalist view of language as opposed to a view of language as a system. Combining these approaches involved building bridges through explicit and implicit points of similarity.

SOCIO-COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS	CDA	SOCIAL SEMIOTICS
Discourse Models (see 2.5.1) Categorization (see 2.5.2) Foregrounding and backgrounding (see 2.5.3) Metaphor theory (see 2.5.4)	Connecting analysis of language to analysis of society (see 2.6)	Inclusion of analysis of other semiotic resources – layout and photographs (see 2.7)

*Table 2.2: Different linguistic approaches merged and adopted in this study*

### **2.5 Socio-cognitive linguistics**

Cognitive linguistics has in the last twenty years emerged as one of the most influential linguistic paradigms. The main ideas from this paradigm are presented in two volumes by Langacker (1987; 1991). The understanding of language in this thesis draws to a large extent on cognitive work. Language is regarded as a part of general cognitive abilities such as, for example, perception and memory. Grammar is considered symbolic, thus making meaning an essential part of grammar. Concepts of Discourse Models (see 2.5.1), categorization (see 2.5.2) and foregrounding and backgrounding (see 2.5.3) which are important both for political as well as media discourse, are also defined in cognitive terms. Further, language is seen as embodied and experiential, i.e. analysts work with the notion that conceptual space is modelled upon physical space. This idea has greatly influenced the development of metaphor theory as explained in 2.5.4.

Apart from being a cognitive ability, language is also a central feature of human social interaction. ‘To fully understand what people do with language it is necessary to take into account both cognitive and social concerns.’ (Virtanen 2004: 5).

A need for merging cognitive linguistics with social theories of language has been recognized by several scholars (Croft 2005; Hodge and Kress 1993[1979]; Stockwell 2002; Virtanen 2004) and concisely expressed as follows:

The requisite theory must encompass the study of syntax and the basic rule systems of the language along with the social uses of language, that is, the relations between language and

society and between language and mind, in a single integrated enterprise. (Hodge and Kress 1993[1979]: 3)

The rarity of such an approach is shown, for example, in a review of different studies of Serbian language within cognitive linguistics (Piper 2006: 14-39). The topics presented there vary from nominalization to metaphors, but there are no examples of studying discourse.

At the conference *New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics* in Brighton, Great Britain, October 22-26, 2005, there was an open invitation to take a social turn within cognitive studies.<sup>17</sup> In his keynote speech, William Croft concluded that: 'The symbolic unit of grammar is actually a semiotic triangle of form, meaning and the community in which the form-meaning pairing is conventional.' At the same conference Koller (2005a) in her presentation defined socio-cognitive research as research that 'investigates how humans use mental faculties and semiotic systems (textual) to facilitate their interaction (interpersonal) and make sense (ideational) of the world.' By including textual, interpersonal and ideational functions of language into her definition, she represents those who connect socio-cognitive linguistics with SFL. The connection between cognitive linguistics and SFL in that both are strands of the functional approach to language has also been pointed out by Langacker (2001).

Discourse studies have been approached by cognitive linguists in a wide range of ways, albeit largely unconnected from one another. For example, van Dijk (1988; 1997; 1998, 2002; 2006) has studied a variety of topics within cognitive linguistics - from cognitive understanding of context, via news as discourse to racism and ideology; Werth (1999) tried to connect conceptual space with space in text and discourse; Langacker (2001) explained his view of how discourse unfolds on a micro level; Lakoff (1991) and Chilton (2004) studied political discourse using conceptual metaphor theory and concepts of space/time/modality; and O'Halloran (2003) pointed at a gap between the individual and society in CDA that can be bridged by cognitive studies. Stockwell (2002) proposed that cognitive poetics could be used as a potential to connect cognitive linguistics, which, according to him, has been analysing single sentences and individual mental schemas, to the study of discourse and ideology, present in CDA. Discourse studies within cognitive linguistics seem to be an area in fast development.

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<sup>17</sup>Keynote speech by William Croft <http://www.cogling.org.uk/NDCL/PlenarySpeakers.htm#Croft> accessed 12.3.07

### 2.5.1 Discourse Models

While moving reflexively from context to texts and back in the attempt to understand how these constitute one other, certain structures came to light. Following Gee (2005), these will be called Discourse Models (DMs)

‘Discourse models’ are ‘theories’ (storylines, images, explanatory frameworks) that people hold, often unconsciously, and use to make sense of the world and their experiences in it (Gee 2005: 61).

DMs are subconscious simplifications that help people make sense of their surroundings. If, for example, a DM of a wedding is evoked, the majority of people in Serbia and Montenegro would have a theory about what a wedding is supposed to be like. That theory would have many common elements like a bride, a groom, a best man, possibly a priest, etc. The DM of a wedding would be somewhat different in different cultures. What is common among DMs is that all consist of participants, relations, actions and aims. Speakers can use several, sometimes contradictory, models; DMs can also be partial. Usually there is one model which is the main model onto which other models can connect. New DMs can be modelled on old ones, ensuring better understanding. Each DM, as each text, is an engagement in some pre-existing debate (following a Bakhtinian understanding of dialogism). In order to recapture that pre-existing debate we need knowledge of different elements of text and context. Examples for this will be given in Chapter 7.

DMs show great similarities with the concepts of frame<sup>18</sup> or idealized cognitive models<sup>19</sup> (ICM) as used in cognitive linguistics. The main difference is the tighter anchoring of DMs in discourse, while frames and ICM seem to be more tightly

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<sup>18</sup>First used by Marvin Minsky and later developed by Roger Schank (Werth 1999: 33) frames are also variously called scenes, scenarios, scripts, schemata, plans and conceptual models. They are ‘theoretical constructs having some cognitive and neural reality’ (Chilton 2004: 51). Frames contain structures which conceptualize situation types and their expression in language. Even though frames and situations have some similarities, frames are not the actual situations. A frame is a distillation from a pattern of text worlds, representing complexes of situation-types and background knowledge.

<sup>19</sup>Idealised cognitive models are ‘idealised and generalised patterns which find their manifestation or actualisation in a variety of linguistic expressions. ICMs are the structures with which we organise our knowledge. ICMs consist of relations between categories, set up socially, culturally and on the basis of individual experience, as our means of understanding and negotiating the world and our lives through it. ICMs are what cause prototype effects and our sense of basic categories. They can consist of image schemas and propositional structure relating certain elements to others, and they can be enriched or reconfigured by the action of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. They are the basis of the way that cognitive science squares the circle between individual and social factors in language and thought. The meanings of concepts do not lie wholly in the world that are used to express those concepts, but in cognitive models which are cued up by words and which add rich and complex understanding in a communicative situation. [...] Cognitive models which are shared become cultural models.’ (Stockwell 2002:33).

anchored in the mind. The tighter connection of the models with discourse goes hand in hand with the social constructionist perspective adopted in this study.

### 2.5.2 Categorization

Categorization is our human way of segmenting both the physical and mental world that surrounds us so that we can find our way in it (cf. Klikovac 2000). It is also described as ‘one of the most profound adaptive moves in the annals of biological evolution’ being ‘the mental representation of individual tokens of experience as members of recognizable recurrent types’ (Givón 2005: 39). Although the mainstream view on categorization has largely been the platonic view which understood mental categories as clear cut, without fuzzy edges, gradation or ambiguity, a shift in the way some research perceives categorization came with the work of cognitive psychologist Rosch (1977) in the 1970’s and cognitive linguists like Lakoff in the 1980’s. These approaches consider that ‘membership in natural categories is not determined by single criterial feature [...] but rather by a large basket of features’ (Givón 2005: 46). Thus, membership within a category is now understood as graded.<sup>20</sup>

There are basically three levels of categorization (Klikovac 2000; Lakoff 1987): superordinate, basic and subordinate levels. As an example of superordinate or higher level of categorization one can take ‘furniture’ (*namještaj*) as a general example or ‘measures for defense’ (*mjere odbrane*) from the corpus. When one uses this term there is no readily available mental picture of ‘furniture’ or ‘measures’ and there is not one way how to use all the ‘furniture’ or ‘measures’. Basic level concepts, on the other hand, like, for example, ‘chair’ (*stolica*) immediately produce a mental picture and we most probably know how to use the chair or ‘anti-aircraft firing’ (*protivavionska paljba*) even though we might have different models of exactly what these things look like. A subordinate level of categorization would be a ‘rocking chair’ (*stolica za ljuľanje*) which specifies even further the uses of that particular object (Lakoff 1987: 46). There is no subordinate level of ‘measures’ in the corpus, but an example would be a particular, more specific type of anti-aircraft firing. People usually think in basic level concepts, while superordinate level concepts are reserved for more abstract thinking.

Why is categorization important for political discourse? As categorization is adopted unconsciously, automatically, one of the negative social consequences of this

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<sup>20</sup>For an overview over different views on categorization and a discussion see Givón (2005: Chapter 2).



mechanism can sometimes result in stereotyping (Givón 2005: 51). Stereotyping is used in the construction of in/out groups. Another potential of categorization in political discourse is the use of superordinate level concepts instead of basic level concepts. Instead of talking and writing about concrete problems, concrete problems are transferred into the abstract sphere. Once there, in the abstract sphere, it becomes difficult to handle particular problems as there is no immediately accessible mental model to do so. In the corpus there are many examples of stereotypes and of the shift between categorization levels, as will be shown in the third part of this study.

### 2.5.3 Foregrounding and backgrounding

Humans have an ability to perceive some features in objects as more prominent than others. This ability helps them to orient to the world. The term for something that is more prominent is 'figure' in contrast to the 'ground' which is thus not prominent. The terms come from gestalt psychologists in the early twentieth century (Stockwell 2002) and were adopted by cognitive linguists (Lakoff 1987). Translated into linguistic/semiotic terms, one can say that newspaper style is foregrounded against the background of everyday, non-newspaper style; certain parts of texts, for example headlines, are more prominent and thus more important than others; photographs are more prominent than words in newspapers, etc.

Perceiving something as prominent or foregrounded is not only a subjective matter but also a matter of following the cues that the text provides. Milošević's position as prominent is, for example, achieved by various linguistic and semiotic devices – he is given space in articles on the front pages, his name is put first in the sentences and repeated in headlines, his position on the photographs is always central, etc.<sup>21</sup>

Experimental evidence has, according to Stockwell, shown that certain characteristics can signal foregrounding, for instance that the object/feature:

- *will be regarded as a self-contained object or feature in its own right, with well-defined edges separating it from the ground*
- *will be moving in relation to the static ground*
- *will precede the ground in time or space*
- *will be a part of the ground that has broken away, or emerges to become the figure*
- *will be more detailed, better focused, brighter, or more attractive than the rest of the field,*

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<sup>21</sup>Other devices that can be used to foreground discursive elements are: 'unusual naming, innovative descriptions, creative syntactic ordering, puns, rhyme, alliteration, metrical emphasis, the use of creative metaphor and so on' (Stockwell 2002: 14).

- *will be on top of, or in front of, or above, or larger than the rest of the field that is then the ground* (Stockwell 2002: 15)

Some examples of foregrounding in line with these characteristics will be shown in Chapters 6 and 7. The very process of reading newspapers and viewing layout and photographs is a dynamic experience. It is a process of perceiving categorization and among other elements, foregrounding and backgrounding (figure/ground) and following their development and relations.

### 2.5.4 Metaphor Theory

The cognitive linguistic view of metaphor is often presented as different from the ‘traditional’ Aristotelian understanding of metaphor as a stylistic device.<sup>22</sup> Instead of simply seeing metaphor as the use of language, cognitive linguistics sees it as a matter of human cognition. Metaphor is ‘understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain’ (Kövecses 2002: 2). Usually, one concrete conceptual domain called the source domain is transferred to another, abstract, conceptual domain, called the target domain. For example, in the corpus of this study, countries (source domain) are conceptualized as persons (target domain). As persons, countries enter in social relations with other countries/persons, they make friends and enemies, they have neighbours, they can get hurt, etc.

A large body of work has been inspired by Lakoff and Johnson’s seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* in which they forwarded an understanding of metaphor as structuring human thought. They and other cognitive scientists (Charteris-Black 2006a; Kövecses 2002; Lakoff 1987; Musolff 2004)<sup>23</sup> continued developing metaphor by including aspects critical of society in which the metaphors are used (for more on Critical Metaphor see for example Charteris-Black 2005; Hart, Lukeš 2007).

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<sup>22</sup>For a view that challenges such an understanding of Aristotle see Givón (2006).

<sup>23</sup>Cognitive metaphor theory has been criticized by, among others, Taylor (2002) for the notion that abstract domains cannot be conceptualized in their own terms, but have to be accessed through metaphor and Givón (2006) for concentrating on metaphors as end-products, and studying them without the specific communicative context in which they were actually produced. Indeed, context and communication goals are important elements which influence the use of metaphors. ‘Metaphors are chosen by speakers to achieve particular communication goals within particular contexts rather than being *predetermined* by bodily experience’ (Charteris-Black 2005: 247). One theory that is gaining more ground as a development of metaphor theory is blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). This theory is based on the conceptual blending of at least two input spaces I1 (source) and I2 (target) with at least one generic space, G, which captures what is common to the input spaces, and which facilitates the establishment of correspondences between elements of the input spaces, and a blended space, which incorporates selected elements from the input spaces and has an emergent space of its own.

### 2.5.4.1 Types of metaphors

There are different ways in which metaphors can be divided, for instance, into structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. In structural metaphors, one concept is structured with the help of another. Examples given by Klikovac (2004: 23) include the well known:

ARGUMENT IS WAR (RASPRAVA JE RAT) = 'She was fighting strongly for her opinion'  
*Snazno se borila za svoje mišljenje.*

LOVE IS WAR (LJUBAV JE RAT) = 'She conquered him with her charm.' *Osvojila ga je svojim šarmom.*

Oriental metaphors have to do with humans' biological orientation in nature. Humans stand on two feet with defined notions of, for example: up and down; in front and behind; left and right, etc. Those notions are connected with the favourable positions for humans – so that, for example, 'up' means good and 'down' means bad. In addition, all people have their personal space which is reserved only for themselves and possibly for a select number of people close to them. Personal distance is culturally influenced. Examples for orientational metaphors are:

HAPPINESS IS UP (SREĆA JE GORE) = 'He was in the seventh skies.' *Bio je na sedmom nebu.*

SADNESS IS DOWN (TUGA JE DOLE) = 'It did not lift his spirits.' *To mu nije podiglo raspoloženje.* (Klikovac 2004: 23)

Ontological metaphors make actions, activities, emotions, ideas into entities of substance, which are easier to handle: they can be measured, seen as the cause of something, etc. For example:

INFLATION IS AN ENTITY (INFLACIJA JE ENTITET) = 'Inflation is lowering our standard of life.' *Inflacija nam snižava životni standard.* 'We have to fight inflation.' *Moramo se boriti protiv inflacije.*

The concept which we get as a result of an ontological metaphor can be further understood by structural metaphors. Metaphorical mappings can enter complex bundles of meaning and conceptual metaphors can make larger systems (Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

Some metaphors can be 'figure-ground reversals of one other'. Such metaphor pairs are called duals and the phenomenon is called duality (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 148). One example from the material in this study is:

a) *Mi se moramo okrenuti miru u zemlji (Pobjeda, 25.3.1999 (14))* We have to turn towards peace in the country

b) *Na prostore Jugoslavije treba da se vrati mir i da se ukloni do sada najveća pretnja evropskoj bezbednosti. (Politika 31.3.99 (9))* Peace should return to Yugoslavia in order to remove the biggest threat so far to European security.

The difference in these two conceptualizations is the position of observer and entity.

In the ‘moving observer’ metaphor (example a), the observer is the figure and ‘peace’ (*mir*) is the ground – ‘peace’ is a fixed location and the observer moves, turns with respect to it. In the ‘moving entity’ metaphor (example b), the observer is the ground and ‘peace’ is the figure which moves relative to the observer. This differentiation can be important as the movement can imply responsibility. So, in example (a) responsibility rests on us, as we are either moving or not moving towards peace, while in example (b) responsibility is not clear as the possibility of movement is given to inanimate ‘peace’.

### 2.5.4.2 Metaphors in political discourse

Why are metaphors important for political discourse? Being of a conceptual nature, metaphors can influence people’s thoughts, actions and relations. This ability to metaphorically structure experience is thus extremely important for political discourse. Complex political situations are more easily understood by using metaphors, as they can simplify constructions of reality by showing one aspect of the structure while backgrounding other aspects. The importance of metaphors in political life in Serbia and Montenegro has been openly discussed in public on several occasions, for instance following the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić in 2003.<sup>24</sup> Đinđić’s identity was constructed in opposition to Milošević and his routine use of metaphors, which, Milošević’s critics argued, deadened political awareness and preserved the political status quo in Serbia and Montenegro.<sup>25</sup> Đinđić was thus acknowledged by some to be a politician who wanted to change the way things were (Felberg forthcoming).

The connection between metaphors and political discourse has been elaborated in many studies (Bugarski 1997; Charteris-Black 2006a; Chilton 2004; Hart and Lukeš

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<sup>24</sup>In the introduction of a book of Đinđić’s metaphors (Ljubenović et al. 2005) there is a discussion on the importance of his metaphors.

<sup>25</sup>Compare the division into two different uses of metaphors found in Billig and MacMillan (2005): ‘(a) politicians can use novel metaphors and thus change the already established way of thinking, (b) metaphors can function as routine idioms – and thus deaden political awareness.’

2007; Lakoff 1991; Musolff 2004). In all these studies metaphors are shown to be important resources that help politicians better construct their version of reality and influence their audiences. A particularly useful model of metaphor mapping and their inferences is developed by Musolff (2004) and explained in detail in Chapter 7.

In the corpus here, political relations are often structured through structural metaphors. Countries are described either as persons (personification) or through container metaphors, i.e., as containers which have an inside, an outside and clear boundaries. The aims and goals of different politicians are conceptualized through trajectories leading one way or another, i.e., through orientational metaphors. The functions of such conceptualizations are connected with the referential and evaluative use of metaphors. A referential strategy represents/constructs social actors (participants) in discourse in a given context and involves the construction and polarization of 'Us' versus 'Them', while an evaluative strategy is usually manifested in the positive representation of 'Us' and the negative representation of 'Them' (Hart 2007). There are numerous examples of these strategies in the corpus.

### **2.6 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical linguistics, developed at the University of East Anglia in the 1970's (Fowler 1979; Hodge and Kress 1993[1979]), opened up possibilities for studying language-in-use and language as action first within generative linguistics and later within Systemic Functional Linguistics (Hart and Lukeš 2007: x). Halliday's studies on modality, transitivity, classifications, etc. provided useful tools for critical linguists. Critical linguistics was later subsumed by Critical Discourse Analysis which was further influenced by social theories developed by Habermas and Foucault (Fairclough 1995b; Wodak and Mayer 2001). CDA became widespread in the 1980's and 90's. It has been defined as:

fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Wodak and Mayer 2003: 6).

Language function, and not only its form, became the focus of CDA. In contrast to the generative and structural linguistic views in which the subject of research was the language system, CDA insisted on language as a process. According to this view language is dynamic and it adjusts itself to social practices. CDA put language analysis into a social context.

A large amount of work on political language and language in media has been done within CDA.<sup>26</sup> Insisting on detailed linguistic analysis proved to be a fertile approach<sup>27</sup> and numerous journals were initiated, including *Discourse and Society*, *Discourse Studies*, *Discourse and Communication*, *CADAAD e-journal*, etc. The tools for the linguistic analyses were primarily borrowed from SFL. CDA has been criticized for being *a priori* negative towards particular social relations and thus finding in discourse what they set out to find (Widdowson 1995).

This study differs from CDA in that it is not critical in the sense of an *a priori* judgement of social relations. It is critical in the sense that interpretative work is *per se* critical, because the analyst is not simply describing language but saying something about the function of the described language, thus interpreting it (cf. Gee 2003).

Even though CDA, aligned with SFL, sees meaning construction as a social act and language as social action it seems not to be contradictory with cognitive principles.

Though Halliday comes out of a different tradition, he has recently affirmed that his approach is cognitively sympathetic, and though it does not have an explicit connection with mental representations, it seems to me a usable grammar without contradicting cognitive principles. (Stockwell 2002:70)

This study is influenced by CDA/SFL in several ways, it adopts insights about agency and modality, notions such as *orders of discourse*, and borrows elements from Appraisal theory which has developed a detailed system for explicit and implicit evaluation in language (Martin 2003; White 1999).<sup>28</sup>

### 2.5.1 Orders of discourse

Different institutions and communities within a society use language in terms of networks which Fairclough refers to as ‘orders of discourse’ (Fairclough 1995b: 55). *Orders of discourse* consist of all discursive types used in a particular institution or community which are a part of a particular social order. In other words, the social order is analyzed through discursive practice (Fairclough 1989: 29). In this study it is possible to talk about two orders of discourse: the political and media orders of

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<sup>26</sup>CDA is sometimes considered as a movement rather than theory or method. The reason for that is that researches working within CDA share a critical view of society but come from different traditions, use different methodologies and concentrate on different questions. Van Dijk and Chilton, for example, are working within the cognitive paradigm. Although Wodak can also be located within the cognitive approaches, she is particularly interested in historical discourse. Fairclough concentrates on uncovering hidden ideologies in discourse.

<sup>27</sup>Even though the main proponent, Fairclough, seems to be concentrating more on social aspects of analysis in his latest work (*Globalization and Language*, 2006).

<sup>28</sup>For an introductory tour of the Appraisal theory see:

<http://grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalOutline/Framed/AppraisalOutline.htm>

discourse. These orders are not as separate as they are presented here; often they borrow discursive types from each other, merge or become indistinguishable. The relation between these two orders of discourse will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5. *Discourse types* are ‘conventions, norms, codes of practice underlying actual discourses’ (Fairclough 1992: 90). Different discourse types are in permanent struggle for predominance, and their predominance is dependent on questions of power. For example, Milošević and Đukanović try to impose their way of talking about state, politics, world affairs, citizens and people as the ‘normal’, accepted way of talking for everybody. The relation between order of discourse, types of discourse and actual discourse is shown in Table 2.3. Orders of discourse, which are systems connected to political and media institutions in Serbia and Montenegro consist of different types of discourse (written, spoken) which are connected to different types of practice (maintaining the political status quo or introducing a new political paradigm). Further, types of discourse consist of actual discourses as found in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* and connected with actual practices, i.e. the mediation of politics through the media.

Social order (institutions)	Order of discourse (political, media)
Types of practice (differentiating one type of politics from other types)	Types of discourse (e.g. democratic vs. liberation type of discourse expressed in written or oral form)
Actual practices (mediation of politics through newspapers)	Actual discourse ( <i>Pobjeda</i> ’s and <i>Politika</i> ’s discourse)

*Table 2.3: Relationship between order of discourse, type of discourse and actual discourse, adapted from Fairclough 1992: 29*

### 2.7 Social semiotics

Social semiotics is the field of research that has adapted SFL’s view on language to the analysis of other semiotic resources beyond verbal language. Verbal and visual elements which form different semiotic systems are referred to as *modes* or *modalities*

and require a specific approach to analysis.<sup>29</sup> As *Pobjeda* and *Politika*, in addition to verbal, consist of visual elements, such as photographs, graphs, charts, caricatures, etc. spatially positioned on pages, social semiotics' theoretical and methodological approach prove useful for the analysis. The main principle of this theory is that multimodal texts combine effects of different semiotic systems and in that way construct meaning.<sup>30</sup> The important questions are how these different systems combine and how that combination contributes to meaning making. At the same time, different modes, like language or images, have different organizational principles for creating meaning that they evolved according to their function.

no verbal text can construct the same meaning as a picture, no mathematical graph carries the same meaning as an equation, no verbal description makes the same sense as an action performed. (Lemke 1998: 110)

Both verbal and visual texts use their respective systems of possible forms and combinations and make meaning that is interpreted according to the particular practices in a particular culture. Accordingly, in this analysis, the theory and methodology of the texts and images from Serbia and Montenegro will be applied within the Serbian and Montenegrin context.<sup>31</sup> Since visual images not only convey content but also communicate through the way they are selected, structured and organized to form a visual text, this study will show that texts and images construct different dimensions of meaning in their individuality and in their interactive combination. It will also point to differences in political discourse (i) between the two different sides and (ii) diachronically within one discourse.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.8 Summary

In this study, language is understood as social action grounded in cognitive ability. The term discourse is understood as language-in-use which is seen as a form of action. Identities and social relations, which are the subject of this analysis, are constructed

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<sup>29</sup>The study of other modes of communication than language (images, music, film etc) has been of interest to different semiotic schools, like the Prague school, (1930's and 1940's), the Paris school (1960's and 1970's) and most recently the Hallidayian school (social semiotics – 1990's).

<sup>30</sup>This property of multimodal texts is referred to in recent literature as the *resource integration principle* (Baldry and Thibault 2006: 19).

<sup>31</sup>After consulting the main linguistic institutes in Serbia and Montenegro (the universities in Belgrade and Novi Sad and the Institute of Foreign Languages in Podgorica) and key linguists during field research there in 2006/2007, it was not possible to find any work done in Serbia/Montenegro within the theory of social semiotics. A possible exception is Đordilović (Đordilović 2006) who compares the front pages of two Serbian newspapers to two Norwegian newspapers in her master's thesis, but that thesis was submitted in Norwegian in Norway.

<sup>32</sup>A detailed methodology for studying visual images and visual-verbal complementarity has been developed (Baldry and Thibault 2006; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Royce 1999).



through actual discourse, discourse types and orders of discourse. Following the constructionist view of society, social identities and relations are seen as discursively constructed and thus flexible and changeable rather than stable. This research approaches discourse studies through a multiperspectival blend of theories of language and of society. The entry point into discourse studies is linguistic and semiotic, through the verbal and visual analysis of texts, making the empirical part of this study its main focus. Three linguistic paradigms inspired this study: socio-cognitive linguistics, CDA and social semiotics. Socio-cognitive linguistics provides this study with a general understanding of language as well as important theoretical concepts of Discourse Models, categorization, foregrounding/backgrounding and metaphor. This is complemented with a stronger emphasis on the connection between language and society as forwarded by CDA and the inclusion of the analysis of other semiotic resources, as forwarded by social semiotics. The methodologies that spring out and at the same time form this theoretical combination are addressed in the following chapter.

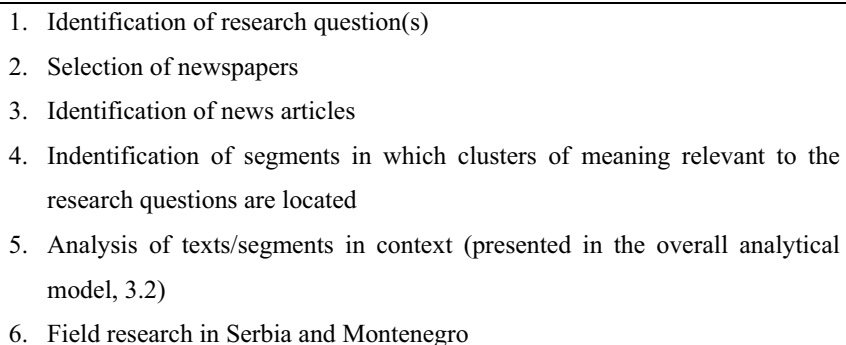
### 3. Methodological framework

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After situating this study at the intersection of theories of language (socio-cognitive, CDA and social semiotics) and a theory of society (social constructionism), the focus will now turn to the analytical steps taken, the overall analytical model and the methodology used for analyzing the chosen material.

#### **3.1 Analytical steps and analytical model**

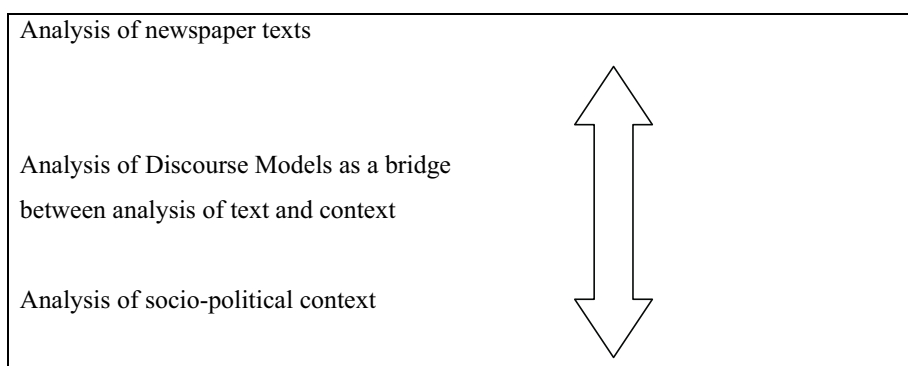
The analytical steps undertaken during the research, albeit not necessarily in this order, are shown in Figure 3.1. The first three steps have already been addressed above (section 1.2). The remaining three will be addressed in this section.

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1. Identification of research question(s)
  2. Selection of newspapers
  3. Identification of news articles
  4. Identification of segments in which clusters of meaning relevant to the research questions are located
  5. Analysis of texts/segments in context (presented in the overall analytical model, 3.2)
  6. Field research in Serbia and Montenegro

*Figure 3.1: Methodological steps followed in this study*

After posing the research questions and selecting newspapers and front page articles as the focus of this study, the next step was to identify relevant segments from the articles (Figure 3.1: Step 4). Texts have a lumpy structure that can be compared to raw-silk texture – the smooth texture (the ground) and the uneven lumps (the figure) make up the whole. The lumps are what give raw silk its unique identity and differentiate it from ‘fine silk’. The uneven places in texts would be the dense places – those which give the text its identity. Seeing and identifying the lumps is an interpretative task, and as such is a subjective endeavor. Subjectivity is decreased by checking the findings against other research and reading background material extensively (contained in Step 5). Identifying the uneven places, i.e. the figure, is influenced by the research questions and research design. As the questions in this study revolve around the discursively constructed identities and relationship of Serbia and Montenegro, analysis focused on the particular places in the texts where this relationship was enacted. Prime sites for foregrounding were the paratexts and quotations from the political leaders. The selected texts were analyzed in context, i.e. within Step 5, which is further developed in the following section.

Field research was conducted in Serbia and Montenegro during 2006/2007 (Step 6). The main aim was to acquire material for the study and gain access to contextual material. The stay in Serbia and Montenegro influenced this study in different ways, from enabling a broader understanding of the relevant context to the surprise of recognizing the extent to which the analyzed period still has social relevance there today. The overall analytical model (see Step 5 in figure 3.1) is presented schematically in Figure 3.2.



*Figure 3.2: Overall model of analysis*

The overall analysis will start with the linguistic/semiotic *analysis of texts* by identifying different foregrounded and backgrounded lexico-grammatical features, metaphors as well as other linguistic and semiotic elements. Social participants and social relations, as well as their spatial and temporal situatedness, will be identified through this initial detailed linguistic analysis. Texts were read both in the newspapers (see CD - *Pobjeda's* and *Politika's* scanned front pages – from March 25 to June 11, 1999) and were written out in footing diagrams in order to see them in a different way. A footing diagram is a technical/methodological tool devised by Silverstein (2003). It is a diagram which divides propositions into columns according to the 'sameness' of categories. This way of deconstructing the propositions helps analysts to see certain patterns, otherwise difficult to see, for example rhythmic repetition of certain categories, anaphora, etc. As footing diagrams were used as a place for brainstorming where a wide range of associations were written, they became difficult to read for others and are not all included in the appendix of this study. One example is given as an illustration in Appendix 3. Instead, newspaper articles were dated and written out in the form of numbered sentences in order to make it easier for the reader to trace the quotations (see CD).

The identified linguistic and semiotic features point at particular Discourse Models which in turn point at certain social contexts. The analysis will progress from text to context and vice versa, combining top-down and bottom-up approaches. The distinction between the process of text description during textual analysis, and text interpretation and explanation during Discourse Model and contextual analysis is purely an analytical separation, since in practice discourse enacts all simultaneously.<sup>33</sup> This overlap will be obvious in the analysis in Part III below. Explanation is limited to a necessary minimum as it is envisaged to be a job for social scientists. The following sections address each of the three elements from Figure 3.2 separately.

### **3.2 Analysis of newspaper texts**

All of the linguistic theoretical approaches offer a spectrum of methodologies for analysing language and some, like social semiotics, offer tools for analysing other modes of communication. As the texts to be analyzed in this study come from the political sphere, mediated through newspapers and as such are multi-modal, they

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<sup>33</sup>Text description, interpretation and explanation are three levels of doing discourse analysis inspired by Fairclough (1989: 98).

require a blend of methodologies. On the first level of the analysis, lexico-grammatical and other semiotic resources as well as metaphors are analyzed in order to illuminate the construction of social participants and relations and their temporal and spatial situatedness. These are summarized in Table 3.1 and their connection with the analysis of social participants and relations will be discussed below.

ANALYSIS OF:	TOOLS USED:
Verbal text	Lexico-grammatical resources (nominalization, agency, lexical repetition, etc.) Metaphors Situating meaning and collocations Omissions
Page layout (visual text)	Information value Salience Framing
Photographs (visual text)	Structures of visual representation (narrative and conceptual processes) Contact, social distance, attitude and modality

*Table 3.1: Categories analyzed in verbal and visual analysis*

#### 3.2.1 Participants and relations

When one analyzes the construction of participants and relations, the question of ‘who does what to whom in the world we construct’ is unavoidable. In order to answer that question, the following tools were employed in this study:

- Analysis of lexico-grammatical units (for example, labelling, lexical repetition, use of pronouns and qualifiers and their persuasive potential, agency, nominalization, etc.) which represent Us/Them and emphasize/de-emphasize positive/negative things about Us/Them
- Analysis of the functions and implications of the metaphors used to structure Us-Them polarity
- Analysis of situated meanings and collocations of key concepts
- Analysis of visual elements (layout and photographs) and their contribution in meaning making (see 3.2.4)
- Omissions of particular topics.

By analysing lexico-grammatical units, one can realize what and how identities and relations are built and in what way they are presented and constructed. Part III will

elaborate on a theory of social distance in language. Social distance usually signifies certain power relations and ideologies in a society, and can be identified through language and expressed in many different ways. Agency is an important element of any political discourse. Who is active (the agent) and who is passive (the patient) are closely connected with issues of responsibility. Chilton, drawing on Dowty (2004: 53), defines a prototypical agent as usually involved in the event or state of his own will or causing an event or change of state in another participant. On the other hand a prototypical patient usually undergoes a change of state, is often causally affected by another participant, is stationary relative to the movement of another participant, and does not exist independently of the event.

Omitting certain information is a well known strategy that can be used for foregrounding or backgrounding in discourse. Omissions can be achieved in several ways. Two of them are identified here:

- omitting particular topics
- omitting through inexplicit meaning: presupposition, entailment, implication.

By omitting particular topics altogether, the newspaper behaves as if that event did not take place or as if it were irrelevant. One important example, mentioned above, is the complete omission of the topic of Montenegro's government and its resistance to Milošević on the front pages of *Politika*. Another type of omission, which is different from avoiding certain topics, is inexplicit meaning. Chilton (2005: 62-65) identifies three types of inexplicit meanings which are important for political discourse: entailment, presupposition and presumption. Entailment is 'to impose, involve, or imply as a necessary accompaniment or result' (Webster 2005). An example often used for entailment is 'to assassinate' – the verb entails that somebody is dead. An example of syntactic entailment is the active and passive forms of a sentence. Presupposition is the packaging of information so that some information is treated as old or known and accepted. An example of presupposition is: 'The president of Montenegro gave a speech yesterday'. This sentence presupposes that there is a president of Montenegro, and not a king or shah. Presumption is 'the ground, reason, or evidence lending probability to a belief' (Webster 2005) and according to Chilton it combines the meaning of claim and implication. As an example of presumption he gives our presumption of the operation of political discourse which is different from presumptions we have when engaging in friendly conversation (2005: 65).

By using entailment one counts on the automaticity of the relationship in question while presupposition is linked to ‘consensus in political perspective and thus contributes to building a consensual reality’ (Chilton 2005: 66). A possible function of politicians’ use of these strategies is to deliberately influence the electorate, ‘the people’, by creating common-sensical shared knowledge.

#### 3.2.2 Spatial and temporal situatedness

Participants in media and political discourse are always situated in time and space. Linguistically this is done through the use of deictic elements. Participants are usually placed or positioned in discourse by somebody. That somebody is usually called a deictic centre.

Deictic centre or zero point or origo is usually the speaker, place (here) and time (now) of utterance. These egocentric particulars also called indexicals, occasional terms or shifters. (Stockwell 2002: 43)

Indexicals are related to various situational features which can be seen from different viewpoints. Deictic projection is one way of shifting our viewpoint to see things as others do. The importance of deictic centre and deictic projection in political media language is crucial as these linguistic and semiotic tools make readers shift their viewpoint. For example, while reading Milošević’s or Đukanović’s addresses, readers are transported into a particular time and place, chosen by the speakers. As it will be shown, the time and space differ when interpreted from two different deictic centres, i.e. Đukanović and Milošević.

According to Stockwell (2002: 45-46), deixis can be divided into perceptual, spatial, temporal, textual and compositional. In this study particular attention will be given to spatial, temporal and relational deixis as those are found in the corpus. Through spatial deixis, deictic centres are located in place using, for example, spatial adverbs and locatives ‘in Yugoslavia’ (*u Jugoslaviji*), ‘in Montenegro’ (*u Crnoj Gori*) while expressions locating the deictic centre in time include, for example, temporal adverbs ‘this evening’ (*večeras*), ‘in the future’ (*u budućnosti*). Relational deixis is realized through:

‘expressions that encode the social viewpoint and relative situations of authors, narrators, characters, and readers, including modality and expressions of point of view and focalisation, naming and address conventions, evaluative word-choices.’ (Stockwell 2002: 44)

Examples for relational deixis are ‘the so called federal government’ (*takozvana federalna vlada*), ‘aggressors’ (*agresori*), etc.

#### **3.2.3 Visual analysis**

The methodology for the analysis of visual elements in this study follows the principles of visual grammar developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and van Leeuwen (2005) and it is adapted to the Yugoslav context. The analysis draws on the three metafunctions of language suggested by Halliday, referring to them as representational, interpersonal and compositional. While analyzing how participants and relations are presented visually, the frame is similar to the verbal analysis, i.e. of interest are questions regarding who the participants are, what actions are undertaken, what relations exist, as well as what circumstances and attributes are expressed. On the level of interactive meanings, i.e. the interaction between the represented participants and viewers, analysis focuses on contact, social distance, attitude and modality. And finally, on the compositional level, information value, salience and framing will be analyzed. By conducting this type of analysis, it is possible to systematically illuminate the meaning making potentials of visual elements in the corpus. Connections between verbal and visual elements will be further elaborated in the Part III below.

##### **3.2.3.1 Visual representation**

All media texts are, as mentioned above, mediated constructions of participants and relations. Thus, mediation introduces another level into the analysis. Apart from the participants and relations in the texts, there is the level of those who mediate and to whom the text is mediated. For that reason, this analysis distinguishes between two types of participants: represented and interactive participants.

1. Represented participants are the participants who inhabit the images/texts. In our material, for example, the main represented participants in *Politika* is Milošević, and in *Pobjeda*, Đukanović.

2. Interactive participants participate in the act of communication, in our case: journalists/editors on one side and viewers/readers of the particular newspaper on the other.

Semiotic resources used for visual representation of participants and relations differ from those used for verbal representation. Represented participants on the photographs can be involved in either narrative or conceptual processes. Narrative processes are expressed when participants are connected by vectors, formed by, for instance, limbs, bodies, tools, gazes, etc. which can represent action, events and



processes of change. For example, on a typical photo of Milošević presiding a meeting with government officials, all government members are turned towards, and gazing at, Milošević. He is usually looking at one of the participants, not at the viewers, i.e. the action of talking or interacting is represented. Being the most salient participant, Milošević is the actor on that particular photograph. His salience is achieved through size, location in the composition, and through the ‘psychological salience’ which certain participants have for viewers. Psychological salience refers to the prominence of individuals who were well known to the public because of their political positions and through their constant presence in the media over a long period of time (since the end of the 1980’s). By analysing the narrative structures of photographs in their context, it is possible to point to the activity or passivity of the represented participants.

Conceptual processes on the other hand ‘represent participants in terms of their class, structure and meaning – in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence’ (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 79), and there are no vectors to point to actions or events. There are three main types of conceptual processes according to Kress and van Leeuwen: classificational (representing taxonomy of types or classes of things), analytical (presenting whole–part relationships such as pie charts) and symbolic (connected to the symbolism or messages conveyed by the participant). Analytical and classificational conceptual processes are not present in the photographs in the corpus. Symbolic conceptual processes are shown in photographs that present Milošević or Đukanović alone. They are represented there as symbols of the governments/nations they were leading.

#### **3.2.3.2 Participants in interpersonal relations**

When viewers look at a photograph in a newspaper they enter an imaginary relationship with the participants on the photographs. That relationship can vary depending on the way the participants are portrayed and the way viewers are accustomed to interpreting photographs. They can, for example, identify themselves with, or distance themselves from, the participants in the photographs (contact). According to Kress and van Leeuwen there is a significant difference between different ways in which represented participants look at the viewers, for example, if they look directly into the viewer’s eyes or not. Following Halliday’s division of speech acts into demanding goods and services and offering goods and services, a

direct gaze at viewers can be interpreted as the speech act of 'demand', while alternative options can be interpreted as speech acts of 'offer'.

In addition to contact, there are three other features relevant to the analysis of interpersonal relations: social distance, attitude and modality.

#### **Social distance**

Social distance between social participants is constructed and reconstructed differently in different societies. In Serbia and Montenegro, close relationships between participants are visually constructed through closer physical distance, while further physical distance can signify alienation or respect for authorities. The physical sense of personal space is transferred metaphorically to the semiotic space between interactive participants and represented participants on the photographs. Using terminology from film studies it is possible to talk about different camera shots as the expression of distance between the participants. Distance is divided into long, medium and short and is connected to different relations among humans.<sup>34</sup> A close-up shot, for example, shows head and shoulders of the subject and represents personal distance. Personal distance is the space among good friends. Social distance, on the other hand, is represented with a medium shot, which shows the subject from the knees up. Social distance is the space among acquaintances. The long shot, showing the human figure occupying about half the height of the frame, represents impersonal distance, i.e. the separation between people who do not know each other. These categories should be understood as graded, rather than clear-cut (cf. van Leeuwen 2005).

#### **Attitude**

The subjectivity or objectivity of images can be expressed through the angle from which a photograph is taken, and is referred to as attitude. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) differentiate between *horizontal* and *vertical* angle, and *frontal* and *top-down* angle. Through the horizontal angle one can construct different degrees of involvement and detachment of the viewer to the represented participants. A frontal angle, for example, is action oriented and can signify involvement while top-down angle or oblique angle can signify detachment. The vertical angle can tell us something about the degree of power given to the viewer or the represented participant. A high angle tends to represent the represented participant as smaller or less significance, whereas a low angle makes the participant look bigger and more

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<sup>34</sup>It is possible to divide distance into even more categories, but for the purpose of this study these three are chosen.

important. If the picture is at eye level, it can imply equality between the represented participants and the viewers. These are not, of course, fixed formulas. The meaning of different angles is a matter of degree and is dependent upon cultural and other contextual factors.

Realizations of the different functions of semiotic features are summarized in Table 3.2 (following Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). The analysis in Chapter 6 will show how these interact in the corpus texts.

<b>CONTACT</b>	<b>FUNCTION</b>
Gaze at the viewer	Demand
Absence of gaze at the viewer	Offer
<b>SOCIAL DISTANCE</b>	
Close shot	Intimate/personal distance
Medium shot	Social distance
Long shot	Impersonal distance
<b>ATTITUDE</b>	
Frontal angle	Involvement
Oblique angle	Detachment
High angle	Viewer power
Eye level angle	Equality
Low angle	Represented participant power

*Table 3.2: Realizations of functions*

#### **Modality**

Modality is the final element which will be discussed in the overview over interactive meanings. As other elements, modality can be expressed both through language and images. All societies, all social groups and institutions have their own truths. That can be seen very clearly in periods of crisis or war when space is opened for the struggle for hegemony (cf. Fairclough 2005c). Truths are constructed in relation to other societies, groups, institutions. The question about truth can also be asked in connection with images. Are the constructed images understood as true or not? Interpreting images is, as previously pointed out, culturally dependent; that which is real for some people is not necessarily real for all people. Modality markers in images are identified by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) as contextualization (full detail to complete absence of background), texture, illumination (light and shade), color saturation/ differentiation/ modulation, etc. The idea is that the more contextualized a photograph is and the more detail there is on it, the more naturalistic it looks and the

higher the probability that it will be understood as ‘true’. As our material’s coding orientation is naturalistic, i.e. consisting of black and white photographs, the level of delicacy described in Kress and van Leeuwen’s theory is unnecessary for this study. Photographs are usually thought of as having documentary value because of their naturalistic modality, and thus as reliable and credible (even though photographic manipulation is widespread). In the interviews with *Politika*’s and *Pobjeda*’s journalists, they stressed the importance of using photographs in the newspapers to demonstrate their credibility. Contextualization of photographs will be addressed in the analysis in Chapter 6, while other modality markers will not be addressed as they are not significant for the *Politika* and *Pobjeda* corpus.

#### 3.2.3.3 Front page composition

When viewers look at the front page of any newspaper, they intuitively feel they either like it or they do not. The esthetics of the different elements and the way they are placed on the page influence its perception. Pages are balanced through a complex combination of different features and their interaction. Such features can be relative size, amount of detail, tonal and color contrasts, etc. (van Leeuwen 2005: 198). Diverse factors are combined not only for esthetic reasons, but also for the pragmatic and ideological reasons mentioned previously.<sup>35</sup> Newspaper size, traditional patterns, availability of photographs, etc. play an important role in constructing front pages. But irrespective of the reasons leading to the composition of front pages, the combination of different elements on the final product contribute to meaning construction. Three elements will be analyzed on the compositional level in this study: *information value* (placement of different elements on the page), *salience* (foregrounding of certain elements) and *framing* (presence, absence and type of framing).

*Information value* presupposes that the placement of different elements on the front page has its own meaning and as such can be ideological.<sup>36</sup> The page as a balance of visual and verbal elements is divided into top/bottom, left/right and center/margin

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<sup>35</sup>The idea that photographs can be selected from ideological, pragmatic and esthetic reasons stems from the work of Macgilchrist (forthcoming).

<sup>36</sup>This is noticed by Serbian journalists as well: ‘odd pages are more important than even pages, top of the page is more conspicuous than the middle or the bottom of the page and the importance of the text is seen in the number of columns it is written on.’ (Ćurgus 1996: 126).

dichotomies. Over the years, the tendency of different positions to be associated with specific meanings has become conventionalized for readers in Western Europe. The information placed on the top of the page is presented as the ideal or generalized essence of information, while information placed on the bottom presents more specific information, more 'down to earth' or real information. Elements appear heavier as they are moved up and towards the left, due to an asymmetry in the visual field (van Leeuwen 2005: 198). The left side of the page usually bears the meaning of something that is known (given), whereas the right side of the page provides the reader with new information. This understanding of the meaning potentials of left/right sides comes from Halliday's understanding of given/new elements in English sentences and cannot always be applied to different languages. The distinction between left and right in other contexts can be a source of different meanings and these can change both historically and culturally. For example, the metaphorical term 'left' used in connection with politics in the former Yugoslavia was connected with positive, good socialist values by the mainstream politicians until 1990 when 'left' became negative and bad. In other contexts, left is connected with passage of time, for something that happened before, while right is connected with something that is coming, i.e. the future. Such representations are frequent in, for example, text books where, if history is represented as a linear development, the past is put on the left side. Because of its connection with movement these meanings can be characterized as dynamic and action oriented. Again, the importance of the context is crucial to understand a particular meaning. The central position is usually given to important elements on the page, while the margin is usually reserved for less important, marginal elements. Although the journalists from *Politika* and *Pobjeda* in general agreed with this theoretical discussion of the role of top/down and centre/margin positions in making meanings, they questioned the given/new dichotomy. Pointing to production practices they underlined that the most important place on the front page is the upper left corner. This space is kept free until the latest possible moment, in order for the newest, and thus most important, news to be placed there.

Another important signifying system is *salience*. Some elements on the page are perceived as more conspicuous than others. Salience can be achieved by the relative size of elements, contrasts in color or sharpness or by the psychological salience of

represented participants. In addition, in a majority of cases, the foregrounded elements are understood as more important than the elements in the background.

The third signifying system to be analyzed here is *framing*. The meaning of the concept framing in this context refers to frame lines (or the absence of these) used to connect or disconnect different elements of layout. One can connect different elements either by *pictorial* or *textual integration*, i.e. text and picture occupy the same place by one being superimposed on the other. When it comes to disconnection, two elements can be *segregated*, i.e. occupy different territories signaling that they belong to different orders or *separated*, i.e. they can be separated by empty space thus being similar in some, and different in other respects. Frames can *overlap*, i.e. a part of the picture or some letters can be partly in the pictorial and partly in the textual space. Disconnection can also be achieved through *visual rhyme* or *visual contrast*. When two elements rhyme, they have a quality in common despite being separate, whereas they contrast when they differ in terms of quality, for example, color or other formal features (van Leeuwen 2005: 12-13).

Finally, compositional function, or visual-verbal relation between photographs and verbal text, will be explored with the help of a model shown in Table 3.3. Visual-verbal relations can be of different kinds and in this model they are identified as *elaboration* and *extension*. Under *elaboration*, visual-verbal relations can be those of *specification* in which the image makes the text more specific or vice versa and *explanation* in which verbal language paraphrases the visual. Under *extension*, visual-verbal relations can be those of *similarity*, in which the content of the verbal text is similar to that of the visual text, *contrast* in which the content of the verbal contrasts with the visual and *complement* in which the content of the visual adds further information to that of the verbal and vice versa.

VISUAL VERBAL RELATIONS		
Elaboration	Specification	The image makes the text more specific (illustration) The text makes the image more specific (anchorage)
	Explanation	The text paraphrases the image (or vice versa)
Extension	Similarity	The content of the text is similar to that of the image
	Contrast	The content of the text contrasts with that of the image
	Complement	The content of the image adds further information to that of the text and vice versa (relay)

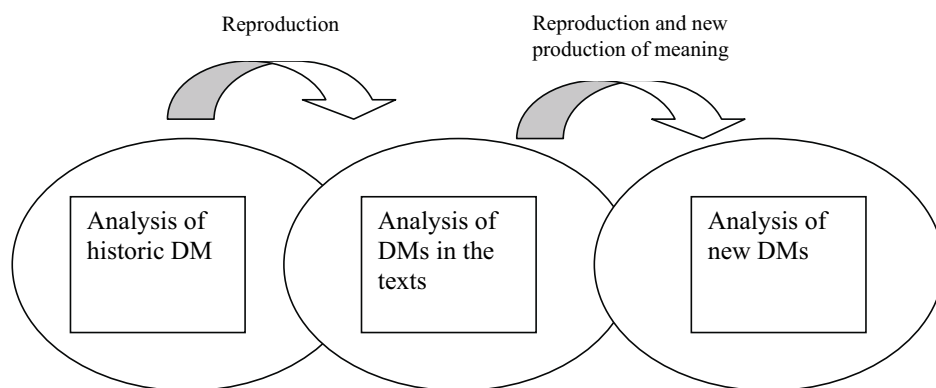
Table 3.3: Image-text relation, adapted from Royce (1999)

### 3.3 Analysis of context

The theory for, and interpretation of, context is presented in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. In order to come to this understanding of context, a wide selection of contextual texts within the fields of politics and media as well as within broader social topics was consulted. In addition, a field study (2006/2007) was undertaken in order to find contextual texts written in Serbia and Montenegro. Political debates connected to the focus of this study were followed via newspapers and TV, and numerous discussions with linguists, social scientists, journalists, as well as individuals outside of the field of research were undertaken while living in Serbia and Montenegro. As mentioned earlier, journalists and photographers both from *Pobjeda* and *Politika* were interviewed. They provided invaluable insights into the period under analysis.

### 3.4 Discourse Models – a bridge between text and context

Discourse Models are important as they draw attention to particular contexts. In this study, DMs link the micro-analysis of texts and the macro-analysis of contexts to one another. Discourse Models that have existed in history are reproduced in actual discourses and further recreated as new Discourse Models, producing new meaning (see Figure 3.1). This type of meaning making and meaning change shows how intertextuality functions on the level of DMs.



*Figure 3.3: Intertextuality and Discourse Models*

### 3.5 Summary

In order to answer the question posed at the beginning of this study – how are the semiotic resources from front page articles in pro-government newspapers in Serbia and Montenegro used to construct aspects of their identities and relationships – a complex, multiperspectival theoretical and methodological model has been developed. Theoretically the study finds itself in the intersection between linguistic and sociological approaches, taking a linguistic/semiotic entry point into the analysis. Prioritizing the empirical side of the study, the analytical model used is a model which provides methodological tools for analysing verbal and visual elements. As shown in the overall analytical model, analysis is divided into three interconnected levels: analysis of texts, analysis of context and analysis of Discourse Models (theories or stories about how things work in the world). The analysis of texts consists of lexicogrammatical analysis, metaphor analysis and semiotic analysis of layout and images. By analyzing different linguistic and semiotic elements and their situated meanings it is possible to identify Discourse Models. All these verbal and visual clues that point to DMs, also point to the context, which in turn points to the DMs and the verbal and visual resources in an interlocking web of meaning-making. The following chapter turns to the innovative theory of context used in this study.



## **PART II**

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Chapter 4 and Chapter 5

Context and co-text



## 4. Context

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The task this study set itself was to analyze the linguistic and semiotic resources in a series of multimodal texts in two newspapers as instances of the discursively constructed identities of, and relations between, two republics. These multimodal texts do not exist in a vacuum and their understanding is dependent upon the understanding of a myriad of political, cultural, social, institutional and other factors among which the texts appear. For example, in their speeches Milošević and Đukanović use language that is conditioned by socio-political factors, i.e. politicians' position of power, their party politics, the political situation in the country, their personal leadership style, etc. In addition, in order to fully account for texts in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* it is necessary not only to describe the texts themselves, but also to account for institutional restraints under which the media worked at the time. Thus, including the study of context into a linguistic/semiotic analysis becomes the only way to account for the whole.

The beginning of the 1990's saw the intensification of the study of context in social studies, linguistics, humanities and discourse studies (van Dijk 2006). In order to restrain the complexity of context for the purpose of analysis, different models of context have been developed by different authors within linguistics.<sup>37</sup> Two main questions have been posed in the study of context, but have yet not resulted in a

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<sup>37</sup>For an overview of models based on SFL see Lackie-Tarry (1995), for a cognitive approach model see Werth (1999) and van Dijk (2006 and forthcoming) and for a sociolinguistic approach see Blommaert (2005).

common answer: (i) the definition of context, and (ii) the relevance of context. Some approaches to context treat it as something that exists outside the individual or as an ‘objective social situation’,<sup>38</sup> while the socio-cognitive view treats it as relevant for the participant or as a ‘subjective view’ (van Dijk 2006). Following the theoretical standpoint from the previous chapter – that cognition forms a bridge between society and discourse – this study will also adopt a socio-cognitive approach to context. Accordingly, contexts, apart from being subjective, have social properties as well. This approach is not widely accepted and there are no ready made models waiting to be used. Because of that, an ad-hoc model will be assembled for the purpose of this study. Most work within a socio-cognitive understanding of context has been done by van Dijk (1995, 1997, 2005, 2006, etc.) and his 700 page, two-volume work on the topic is expected to appear in 2008. The main points from van Dijk’s approach published so far are summarized in 4.1. After that a slightly modified context model used in this study is outlined in 4.2. This model makes, as do many others, a distinction between the co-text (intertextual and intratextual context) and the context (broader socio-political context and context of situation). The aim of the model is to help (re)construct different voices and their identities through the analysis of co-text and several important contextual aspects of politics and media.

Context will be presented through the subjective context model of the analyst consisting of the Setting, (Time, Place), Participants and Actions of the NATO air war, both on macro and micro levels. The construction and description of any context model is an exercise in foregrounding and backgrounding certain elements or layers. I will particularly concentrate on two layers of context which are considered important to gain understanding of the texts studying the corpus. These two layers are politics and media. History, economic and cultural specificities will be in the background all the time, as they are impossible to separate, but no specific attention will be paid to them here. The reasons for foregrounding politics and media are that texts derive their meaning from (i) the media, in this case, newspapers as institutions in the particular culture, i.e. they are socially situated in an institution, and (ii) the concept of politics and political knowledge in the particular culture. It cannot be stressed enough that politics and media are not two separate layers. On the contrary, they often merge and at times coincide. This will be shown in the following chapter, when political and

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<sup>38</sup>According to van Dijk, SFL is one of those.

media orders of discourse are analyzed in more detail. While constructing these layers, care will be taken to consider the presumed context models, as enacted in discourse, of two sets of central participants – *Politika*'s and *Pobjeda*'s constructions of Milošević and Đukanović.

### 4.1 Socio-cognitive approach to context

As a reaction to the 'objective or deterministic' view on discourse prevalent in the humanities and social studies, Van Dijk (1995, 1997, 2005, 2006, forthcoming) proposes a socio-cognitive approach to the study of context. In this approach context is understood as 'subjective participants' constructs of communicative situations' (van Dijk 2006: 159). These constructs are realized through mental models, a concept taken from cognitive psychology (van Dijk 2006: 165), which are stored in episodic (personal) memory and influenced by social memory (knowledge, attitudes, ideology, common ground, etc.). Mental models, which can be divided further into context models and event models, influence 'what people say and especially *how* they do so' (van Dijk 2006: 165). Apart from being subjective, mental context models also have social and inter-subjective properties. Schematically this connection between society, discourse and cognition is presented in Figure 4.1.

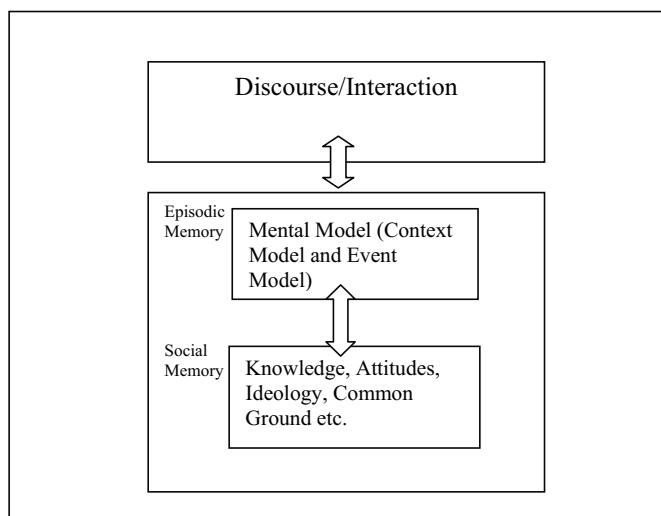


Figure 4.1: Context model: adapted from van Dijk (2000: 25)

In this study the more general term *context model* will be used and rather than drawing the distinction between context model and event model the latter will be understood as part of context models.

In van Dijk's system, knowledge plays a very important part as no communication is possible without presuming, claiming and sharing knowledge. A concept, knowledge-device (K-device) which 'ongoingly examines which knowledge may or should be expressed in discourse' is the centre around which a context model is construed (van Dijk 2006: 172). Knowledge is often presupposed and not explicitly stated, but it determines the understanding of discourse.

Van Dijk's approach has been criticized because it is impossible to have access to and describe the mental models of others, i.e. what is going on in the minds of others (Gjerstad 2007). As a way of mending this theoretical contradiction, Gjerstad (2007: 65) offers the differentiation between the real person *political person* and the discursively constructed person *political persona*. Acknowledging the importance of making that distinction, one cannot but realize that the discursively constructed person is also perceived in our minds, so there is still no escape from constructing mental models of communicative situations.

In describing the properties of context, van Dijk highlights the relativity of context, the subjectivity of context, the partiality of context, the missing link between social situation and discourse, and context control processing. The relativity of context is seen in the fact that context features relevant for me, are not necessarily relevant for you, or that context features relevant for me now, were not relevant for me before, or will not be relevant in the future. There is no context that objectively exists at a certain place; a context is the result of personal constructions and thus is subjective. By being subjective, context models consist of 'chosen' or relevant features for the person constructing them and as such they are partial. Contexts are mental models and provide an interface between social structure and discourse. If one pursues only 'social' or 'interactional' accounts of context, thinking that those elements directly influence discourse, one falls into a deterministic trap. For example, Milošević's or Đukanović's political position does not cause or determine the way they speak

otherwise they would have made identical statements in the same situation (van Dijk 2006: 162).<sup>39</sup>

At this time, all that can be offered is a short and partial account of a socio-cognitive approach to context studies, since the theory is still under construction. The important task of this study is to try and adapt the existing ideas in order to take into account a series of texts in the Serbian language.

### ***4.2 The analyst's context model***

A mental model is created by selecting and categorizing information according to individual and socially shared criteria of relevance. The analyst is in that process led by her knowledge, attitudes, ideology, etc. (see Figure 4.1). The analyst's mental model is not the same as mental models of the same communicative situation that other people or institutions might have and it is also impossible for any analyst to write her complete mental model. Nevertheless, there are elements that are shared within a society, which make it possible for people to communicate.

The analyst's mental model consists of a co-textual context (a and b) and a contextual context (c and d):

- a) the intertextual diachronic context
- b) intra-textual synchronic context
- c) broader socio-political context (macro or global context)
- d) context of situation (micro or local context).<sup>40</sup>

In order to limit the context for the sake of analysis, this analyst will follow a somewhat controversial division into macro and micro (global or local) contexts borrowed from social studies.<sup>41</sup> The controversy comes from the fact that it is often impossible to divide macro from micro contexts and that these categories are truly analytical constructs. Nevertheless, they are helpful. Macro and micro contexts actually share one mental model enacted on two different levels. The categories

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<sup>39</sup>One can, of course, question the thesis that any two persons can find themselves in the 'same situation'.

<sup>40</sup>These levels are almost identical with the four levels of context developed within discourse-historical approach (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 22).

<sup>41</sup>'Local context is the immediate situation of actual discourse production and understanding, as is the case in face to face interaction involving the co-presence of individual persons as participants. The latter would be the broader historical, societal or cultural situation described not (only) in terms of the current participants, but (also) in terms of groups, communities or institutions, and not limited to the time or place of the actual utterance but involving a larger period and a larger location. (somewhat similar to "context of situation and context of culture").' (van Dijk 2006).

chosen by the analyst and found both on macro and micro levels are: Setting (Time and Place), Participants, Relations and Goals. These have been chosen as a compromise between their relevance and the space restrictions of this study (see Figure 4.2.). Participants do not have to be persons, they can be groups of people or institutions. It is, indeed, impossible to observe groups' minds but it is possible to theorize about them.

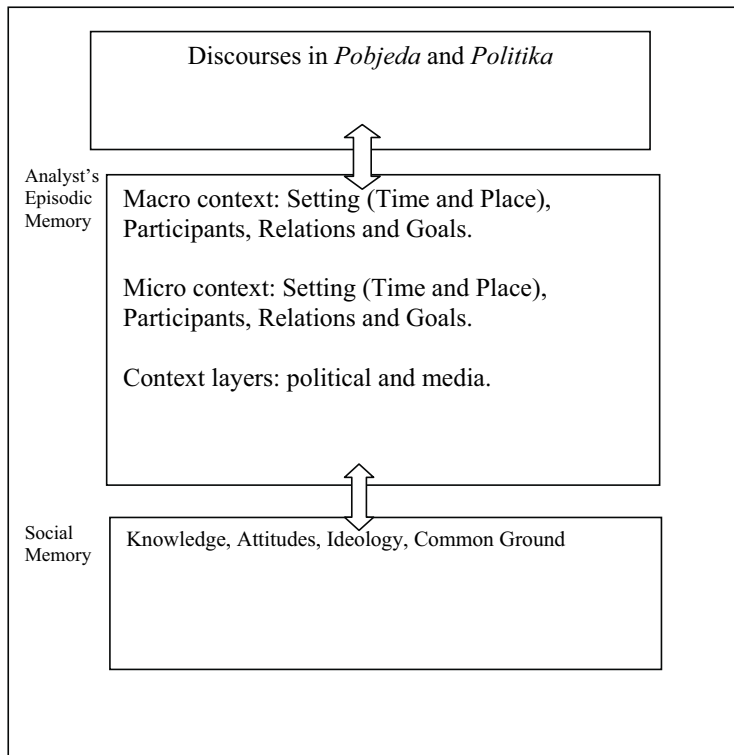


Figure 4.2: The analyst's context model

The focus in the model in Figure 4.2, an elaboration of Figure 4.1, is on the analyst's mental model and its constituent parts. The macro context is understood as international and national politics, group participants, their relations and their goals which are influenced by institutional and ideological knowledge, the current social, cultural and political situation, etc. while the micro context of this study is understood as the period of the NATO bombing, its participants, their relations, and their goals. As mentioned earlier, there are two main layers of the context model that the analyst



finds relevant for understanding the texts to be analyzed. These are the political and the institutional (i.e. media) layers. These layers are relevant since the global social domain of the NATO bombing, in which people interact, is politics mediated through media. Both layers will include a brief description of the background, i.e. the political and media circumstances and will be divided, for the sake of analysis, into a macro and micro political/media context. Even though the description of context follows the analyst's context mental model, the analyst's models of the media actors' and political actors' perspectives will also be considered as much as possible. The reason for this is that the discourse was produced by the politicians and by the media. The point is not to fully describe or judge the mental models of the participants, but to better understand political and media structures.

It is important to bear in mind that context models are dynamic and that they change constantly. The analyst's understanding of context at the time of writing this thesis, nine years after the event in question took place, is different from the analyst's understanding of the context at the time of the event unfolding, in 1999. The analyst's mental model also differs from other participants' models.

### **4.3 Politics: Macro-context model**

The Setting of the analyst's and Participants' macro-political context model is Europe and world politics. The relevant Time is the period during and after the disintegration of SFRY – the 1990's. Chapter 7 will show that other historical points in time, e.g. the Second World War or the Assembly in Podgorica in 1918 (*Podgorička skupština 1918*), are given explicit relevance in the different mental models of various Participants.

Participants in this model are groups of countries forming a military union – NATO led by the USA, in addition to the UN, Russia and FRY. Relations between these group-participants were conditioned by their institutional and military power. NATO, being the most powerful military union in the world at the time was used in politics both as a threat and as an executor of political decisions. The power of small states like FRY is minimal in comparison with NATO, but considerable in their own internal political realm. The UN is another important global participant that had both political and military means to intervene in the Balkan wars.

NATO's goal was to militarily incapacitate the enemy – explicitly identified as the Serbian military – both in Bosnia and later in FRY. FRY's official goal was to protect

Serbs from possible atrocities, protect civilians and preserve its territory. Montenegro's goals changed during the 1990's. Until 1997 it followed FRY's/Serbia's politics; after 1997 it acted independently, following a 'pro-western' line, as the Montenegrin government explicitly stated in the media. The UN goal was defined as the peaceful resolution of global conflicts. These goals were official and explicit and were mediated through the media.

The end of the cold war, symbolized through the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, influenced the political situation across the globe, and in particular in Eastern Europe. While some former communist/socialist countries of Eastern Europe entered what is referred to as the transition period, SFRY started to disintegrate into conflict. A combination of different internal and external factors contributed to the disintegration of the country.<sup>42</sup> The Serbs were given most of the blame and responsibility by the western powers for the human suffering caused by these wars. This construction of Serb guilt through cause and effect connects the political macro context to the political micro context of the NATO bombing, as explained from the official NATO point of view. The Serbs' presumed atrocities in the past and expected atrocities in the future legitimized and justified the so called 'humanitarian bombing' in the given context. On the other hand, seen from the official Serbian point of view, the NATO bombing was understood as an aggression with the aim of conquering a nation as part of a more expansive plan to conquer the whole world (Ćurgus 2003: 10; Nohrstedt et al. 2000: 390).

The geo-political map of the Balkans changed dramatically during the 1990's. Instead of one country there were now five: Slovenia, Croatia, FRY, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (consisting of two parts: *Republika Srpska* and *Federacija*). These changes continued into the twenty-first century when, in 2006, Montenegro became independent following a peaceful referendum. In 1999 the remaining potential for further conflict was identified as Montenegro and Kosovo. Kosovo had a high degree of autonomy in the SFRY, which was taken away from the province after Milošević came to power. The majority of the population in the province was Albanian, and there was a desire from their side to achieve independence. A year prior to the NATO bombing there were several clashes between the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and Yugoslav police forces in Kosovo. Various reports described KLA or Yugoslav forces

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<sup>42</sup>For a critical view of existing interpretations of the disintegration of Yugoslavia see Jović (2001, 2003).

threatening and killing civilians (depending which side was reporting).<sup>43</sup> After a period of unsuccessful diplomacy, NATO decided to bomb FRY. The military action was given the name ‘Merciful Angel’. That name was considered by many to be an ironic gesture. The choice of name foregrounded the ‘humanitarian’ nature of bombing through use of the adjective ‘merciful’. It also played on the connection between NATO and religion through the religious term ‘angel’. Religion was thus used to endorse NATO’s actions as good and accepted by a god, as angels are seen to be messengers from a god. Apart from provoking human suffering and material destruction, the ‘Merciful Angel’ generated different types of discourses about the legality and morality of the bombing.

To sum up this rather schematized account, one can say that the political situation in the FRY prior to the NATO air war was marked by at least three different sets of tensions: external tensions between the FRY and the NATO countries, internal tensions between the officials in Serbia and the officials in Montenegro and tensions within Serbia and Montenegro, i.e. among people across economic, political, religious and ethnic lines.

### 4.4 Politics: Micro-context model

The Setting on the political micro level in the context model (Figure 4.2) was FRY during the period of the NATO bombing. The bombing started on March 24, 1999 and lasted until June 10, 1999.



Figure 4.3: Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the time of NATO bombing

<sup>43</sup> A balanced account of this period is to be found in Bieber and Daskalovski (2003).

FRY consisted of two member republics which had their own presidents and Prime ministers (PM). The federal government was led by Slobodan Milošević.

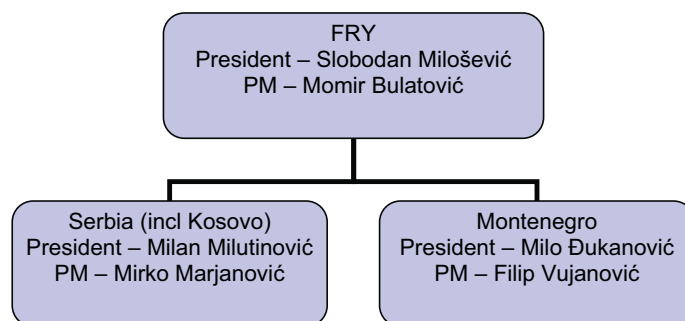


Figure 4.4: Political structure of FRY

The main Participants in the micro-political context model in this study are the president of FRY, Slobodan Milošević and the president of Montenegro, Milo Đukanović. At the beginning of his political career, Slobodan Milošević was referred to as ‘young, energetic and modern’ (*mlad, energičan i moderan*) (Marović 2002: 208), while Đukanović, together with his political allies at the time Bulatović and Marović, was referred to as ‘young, beautiful and smart’ (*mladi, lijepi i pametni*). Both were characterized in relation to the previous ‘old fashioned, communist, bureaucratic politicians’. As young and smart, they represented hope in something good. Their relevance to political life in 1999 was shown by their addressing the nation, meeting other politicians, leading meetings, speaking first in the meetings, using deictic expressions and thus being in a position to create Us-Them polarities. By addressing the people, politicians make the people relevant as well. The lexical choice, syntax and style of these politicians was defined and controlled by the war context. While talking, they represented positions, identities and knowledge which were both their own and those of the people. Milošević’s and Đukanović’s relations and attributed goals will be addressed in the following section.



Figure 4.5: *Slobodan Milošević* and *Milo Đukanović*

### 4.4.1 Central participants – from allies to enemies

As this study is analyzing the relationship constructed in the official newspapers, between the official Belgrade, represented by Slobodan Milošević and the official Podgorica, represented by Milo Đukanović, the historical/diachronic context of the relationship between the two politicians is relevant. These two politicians symbolize two political power centers that in the beginning were perceived as, and acted as, one common political center; they had a common political platform from 1989 to 1997 (cf. Huszka 2003). This period of political ‘marriage’ between Milošević and Đukanović is a topic which is omitted from the texts in *Pobjeda* during the analyzed period. That was the period during which Đukanović came to power as prime minister of Montenegro, together with his friend and ally, the president of Montenegro Momir Bulatović.<sup>44</sup> The shared center of power was split when Đukanović decided to distance himself from Milošević and Bulatović, who remained on Milošević’s side. Đukanović and Bulatović belonged to the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP), but Bulatović left it and founded the Socialist People’s Party (SPP). SDP won the presidential and parliamentary elections in early 1998, and it was expected that Đukanović would become the federal prime minister, according to the federal constitution. Contrary to the decision of the Montenegrin assembly, Milošević chose Bulatović as federal prime minister.<sup>45</sup> Montenegrin authorities reacted by not

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<sup>44</sup>Momir Bulatović was the president of Montenegro from 1989-1997 and Milo Đukanović was the prime minister during the same period.

<sup>45</sup>According to General Perišić, Milošević wanted to take power in a military coupe from Đukanović in January 1998, but Milošević was stopped by the general himself. (Glas Javnosti, April 7, 2000, page 3 cited in Antonić 2002: 450)

recognizing the 'unconstitutional and non-existent' federal government of Momir Bulatović.

Momir Bulatović described his version of this period in his book 'The Rules of Keeping Silent' (*Pravila ćutanja* 2005). In the book he pointed at the 'real' reason for the political difference between himself and Milo Đukanović: that reason being Đukanović's change from supporting the common state, FRY, to opposing it, based on economic inequality among the member states. Bulatović further pointed that Đukanović started calling the federal government the 'so called' (*takozvana*) government, 'cautiously in domestic media, but boldly in foreign media' (Bulatović 2005: 236). According to Bulatović, the foreign media changed their view of Đukanović and made him into a fighter for democracy. As evidence for this, Bulatović shows that these media evaluated the political situation before the problem even became known.<sup>46</sup> According to his argument, the gap between Belgrade and Podgorica started appearing during the 1997 elections. *Politika* was reporting on all these political happenings in open support of Milošević (Marović 2002: 385; Minović 2007b: 15).

As Chapter 6 will show, the official Montenegrin newspaper *Pobjeda* adopted Đukanović's view in its reporting; calling the federal government the 'so called federal government', *takozvana federalna vlada*. As Bulatović pointed out, the political differences within Montenegro were connected with politicians being pro-Serbian or pro-Montenegrin. This political division was constructed as having historical roots. Montenegrins were divided into:

- 1) Those in favor of the union with Serbia which builds upon the story line that the Kingdom of Montenegro joined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes voluntarily in 1918. At the referendum in 1992, the majority of voters opted for the continuation of the union with Serbia.
- 2) Those in favor of an independent Montenegro, which builds upon the independence and statehood that Montenegro had prior to 1918 and considers the union in 1918 to have been forced and not voluntary (cf. Gallagher 2003).

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<sup>46</sup>Long before anybody noticed that something was happening the reknowned Washington Times in its issue of March 13, 1997 published: 'The president of Montenegro is exposed to attacks from much more powerful government of Serbia.' In order not to have any doubts about who the 'good guy' was, the Associated Press explains the same day: 'The Montenegrin Prime minister gave a statement on Thursday that this little Republic might leave Yugoslavia if its partner in the Federation, Serbia, does not make crucial democratic and economic reforms.' (Bulatović 2005: 236).

### 4.4.2 Key topics during the NATO bombing

Some of the key topics<sup>47</sup> or semantic macro-structures that this analyst believes were influenced by and had influence on the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro during the NATO bombing were already identified in Chapter 1 as:

1. The addresses to the people by Milošević and Đukanović published one day after NATO bombing started
2. Yugoslav proclamation of the state of war/Montenegro Assembly's proclamation about not taking part in the war
3. Serbia's and Montenegro's different alliances
  - a. FRY's (w/out Montenegro) proposal to join the Russia-Belorussian cooperation – Montenegro's rejection
  - b. Montenegro's intense political activities – Đukanović visits to European cities during the bombing; seeking alliances with the western powers
4. Religion as a common denominator
5. Tension between the Montenegrin police and the Yugoslav army
6. The interview/address to the people published a day after the bombing stopped

As these topics serve as anchor points for the analysis, they will briefly be addressed here before being connected to the verbal analysis in Chapters 7-9.

#### *1. The addresses by Milošević and Đukanović published one day after the NATO bombing started*

Addressing the nation after an attack on the country is an event which can be expected from the political leader of a country. Milošević gave an address to the nation which was printed in *Politika* the day after the attacks began. One would expect Milošević's address to also be published on the front page of *Pobjeda* as he was the president of FRY at that time. That was not the case. Milošević's address was printed on page five in *Pobjeda*. Instead, the front page covered Đukanović's separate address expressing his own view which differed from the federal politics at the time. Đukanović's speech was commented in negative terms in *Politika*, not on the front page but on page nine and in the form of a comment piece the following day (*Politika* 26/3).

#### *2. The Yugoslav proclamation of the state of war/Montenegro Assembly's proclamation about not taking part in the war*

After NATO's attack, the government of FRY proclaimed a state of war on the territory of FRY. That was supposed to include Montenegro as well. Diplomatic relations with USA, Great Britain, France and Germany were cut (*Politika* 26/3).

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<sup>47</sup>Topics indicate what a discourse is about. Topics are 'a function of the event and context models of speakers' (van Dijk 2002: 228).

Montenegro's Assembly issued a resolution which was directly opposed to the war proclamation issued by FRY. The introduction of this 'obligation to work' (*radna obaveza*) meant that all citizens were supposed to continue with their work, in other words, they were not to be mobilized. The resolution emphasised that it expressed the common will of all political parties in Montenegro. The resolution was described in *Pobjeda* as 'a contribution to civil peace, religious and national and political tolerance in Montenegro' (*Pobjeda* 27/3). The fact that it was directly opposed to the proclamation of the state of war was not mentioned. The importance of the resolution was underlined by the description of the laborious process that led to it ('three days and three nights' *tri dana i tri noći*) and by it expressing the common will of all different parties. Both the president and the citizens were quoted about their positive comments on the resolution (*Pobjeda* 28/3). During the entire period of NATO bombing the resolution was repeatedly described in *Pobjeda* as a positive move. Comments by politicians and academics were used to give it the required authority. (*Pobjeda* 4/4; 6/4; 9/4)

The resolution and *radna obaveza* were criticized in *Politika*, again not on the front pages but on pages devoted to the situation in Montenegro. Both were proclaimed illegal (the latter by the constitutional court, *Politika* 18/5).

The importance of the resolution for Montenegrin politics can be summarized as:

- a) Showing its own political will through de facto rejection of the state of war proclaimed in the whole country
- b) Signaling political unity through achieving consensus across all political parties in the parliament<sup>48</sup>
- c) Challenging the army mobilization proclaimed by Belgrade by introducing the 'working obligation' (*radna obaveza*).

#### 3. Serbia's and Montenegro's different political alliances

- FRY's (w/out Montenegro) proposal to join Russia- Belorussian economic /political cooperation – Montenegro's rejection
- Montenegro's intense political activities – Đukanović's visits Western European cities during the bombing; seeking alliances with the western powers

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<sup>48</sup>The political consensus was positively evaluated by quoting Petar Petrović Njegoš, describing it as a unified, common decision - 'from the head of all people' (*iz glave cijelog naroda*) *Pobjeda* 28/3: 5. Njegoš (1811-1851) was a well-known poet and bishop-prince of Montenegro, whose work was used to justify arguments for both the independence and non-independence of Montenegro.



FRY decided to enter an economic, political and military union with Russia and Belorussia (*Politika* 13/4). The decision was presented as promoting peace. It was a political move which signaled FRY's closer ties with Russia and the hope that FRY might get some military support from Russia and Belorussia. This move was received as a negative move by Đukanović (*Pobjeda* 13/4) and was characterized as a manipulation and misuse of unions. In addition, it was stamped as an illegal move since Montenegro's government had not participated in making the decision. At the same time, an effort was made in *Pobjeda* to underline the importance of maintaining a good relationship with Russia which did not necessarily involve military unions. Montenegro started seeking alliances and help from Western European countries through a series of visits by Đukanović to Western European cities. Đukanović's visits abroad were used in Serbia as evidence that he was a 'traitor' (*Politika* 20/5).

#### *4. Religion as a common denominator*

The importance of religion can be seen in the way that both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* make meetings with leaders of various religious denominations salient. Most salience, however, was given to the Orthodox religious leaders, Patriarch Pavle and Metropolitan Amfilohije by reporting on their visits, interviews, speeches and religious services. Easter was given prominence as a time for appealing for peace. In connection with Easter, the Yugoslav army offered, via *Politika*, a unilateral cessation of military actions, expressly connecting the military with religion.

The most important visit by a religious leader was the Russian Patriarch Aleksey's visit to Milošević. That visit had a double purpose: to show Russian religious support for the Serbian people and to show Russian political support for the government of FRY. Religion and politics were difficult to separate. The importance of Aleksey's visit was shown in *Pobjeda* as well. The fact that Aleksey did not visit Montenegro was played down by reporting instead the telephone call he made to Đukanović.

#### *5. Tensions between the Montenegrin police and the Yugoslav army*

There was a tense relationship between the Yugoslav army and the Montenegrin police, as the Yugoslav army was under the direct command of Milošević and the Montenegrin police was under Đukanović. *Pobjeda* attempted to play down the tensions by describing various meetings between the army and the police (*Pobjeda* 5/4), emphasizing the good cooperation between the two in their daily contacts, stating that the police was under civilian control, and trying to overcome the tensions (*Pobjeda* 3/4).

The minister of justice of Montenegro, Dragan Šoć, gave a statement saying that he would not accept mobilization if he was drafted, which received a negative commentary in *Politika* (29/3). Patriotism and treason were evoked in *Politika* as the main moral questions of that particular political moment. *Politika* presented the army as a stabilizing factor in Montenegro, explicitly explaining its superior role as a reaction to the statement by the minister of interior affairs of Montenegro that the police was also an armed power (*Politika* 17/4). The Montenegrin leadership was repeatedly accused by the Yugoslav army of acting as a separate state and having an autocratic style of leadership.

### *6. The address/interview given a day after the bombing stopped*

Milošević gave an address to the nation proclaiming de facto victory of FRY over NATO. Instead of Đukanović, the president of the assembly, Svetozar Marović gave an interview constructing an entirely different conclusion to the war – there are no winners, and the internal politics, i.e. the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro, were to be assessed by the people.

## **4.5 Media: Macro-context model**

Returning to Fig 4.2 above, the relevant Time of the analyst's macro context model of media is the same as the political macro context: the period during and after the disintegration of SFRY – 1990's. The Setting is SFRY and FRY. The Participants are the newspapers (editors, journalists, etc.) and the political actors that exerted a defining influence on the newspapers.

The media situation in SFRY up to its dissolution in the beginning of 1990's was characterized as 'media darkness' (cf. Đuranović 2005) because almost all the media were under the control of the Communist party. The media situation changed rapidly and drastically, triggered by the introduction of the multi-party system in the 1990's. All types of media, from printed media, including Internet editions, to TV and radio stations representing different political views, started to proliferate.<sup>49</sup> Some research (Branković, cited in Antonić [2002: 443]) shows that the media source from which the

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<sup>49</sup> 'According to a Montenegrin Media Institute report, there are four registered dailies, three weeklies, and 17 periodical newspapers in Montenegro. The 'crowd' is even greater with regard to electronic media: 15 TV stations and 43 radio stations, including local public TV and radio services. In all, there are 108 registered media outlets and seven registered media bureaus in Montenegro, which employ 1,904 professionals (1,170 full-time employees and 734 part-time). These numbers illustrate a problem facing the media in the Montenegrin skies: for a state with a mere population of 670,000 – the media offer is too big.' (Đuranović 2005).

average citizen of Serbia acquired his information played a more important role in forming his political views than any other sociological factor like gender, education, age, income, etc. In both republics the main incentive for media proliferation was political. For example, the political struggle between Milošević and Đukanović at the end of 1997 enhanced the further development of the private media in Montenegro, as did the substantial financial support given by the international community.<sup>50</sup> The first private independent newspaper *Vijesti* was founded in Montenegro during exactly this period, in 1997. In response to this development the official Belgrade helped found the pro-Milošević newspaper *Dan* in Montenegro in 1998 as well as some other media.<sup>51</sup> *Pobjeda* continued to support official Montenegrin views, while *Politika* continued to support official Serbian views.

The situation for media in Montenegro prior to NATO's air war was considered somewhat better than in Serbia. According to research by the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM), state-run television was 'more open to different opinions and subsequently critical to actions undertaken by Milošević's regime'; it also 'remained outside of the hate speech campaign led by RTS' (ANEM 1999: 337). The biggest problem for the media was the necessity to pay high fees to the state for the use of TV/radio frequencies.

### 4.5.1 Restricting the media

In preparation for the possible NATO attack, the government of FRY adopted two regulations in 1998.<sup>52</sup> These regulations considerably restricted the work of the media by banning some newspapers (*Dnevni Telegraph*, *Danas*, and *Naša Borba*), fining others (*Evropljanin*, *Dnevni Telegraph* and *Monitor*) and confiscating equipment. Extremely high fees were also used to hinder the distribution of Montenegrin newspapers and magazines in Serbia. These measures were considered necessary by the FRY government in order to preserve the union.

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<sup>50</sup>'In the period from 1997 to 2000, the biggest inflow of foreign donations in the media sector was reported – approximately 500,000 euros annually' (Đuranović 2005).

<sup>51</sup>The radio station 'Radio D' and 'TV YU Info'.

<sup>52</sup>'The Government of Serbia's Decree on Special Measures in the Circumstances of NATO's Threats of Military Attacks against Our Country (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, issue 35, October 8, 1998) – rescinded in issue 37, October 21, 1998) and The Law on Public Information (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, issue 36, October 20, 1998)' (Goff 1999: 308).

Drafting journalists for military service was also used to stop newspapers that expressed different views from the official view. This method was often used in Montenegro since other methods did not work there (ANEM 1999: 338).

In addition to the regulations which limited the media, the Ministry of Information issued semi-formal instructions for the work of news agencies and media on March 24, 1999.

1. Maintaining non-stop contact with the state organs on a 24-hour service;
2. A list of persons from all the media who are to be on call on specific dates should be passed on to the Ministry;
3. Accurate telephone and fax numbers of those persons who are on call in editorial offices;
4. Courier service between the editorial staffs of the media and the Ministry of Information is to be established if the telephone lines are cut;
5. A strict ban on reporting the losses of the Yugoslav Army or the police – Ministry of Internal Affairs (a form of censorship);
6. Every journalist in the field or in editorial offices must serve the current interests of the state and take part in reporting and notifying activities;
7. Non-stop monitoring of the reports of the foreign media, especially of those radio stations whose signal could be received well on the territory of FR Yugoslavia;
8. Actions undertaken by the police and the army are to be referred to as 'defensive activities' or 'struggle to preserve and defend the country';
9. For the losses inflicted upon the enemy the following terms are to be used: neutralized, incapacitated, paralyzed, liquidated, etc.;
10. Not a single piece of information which could further the spreading of defeatism and panic can pass unnoticed by the editors-in-chief;
11. It is necessary to constantly refer in commentaries and reports to the violation of the UN Charter, violations of human rights, arbitrary decision-making by a military alliance, the fact that it is not a decision supported by all the nations, etc.
12. Protection of confidential material and archiving this material and reports which would be of use in future analysis or in the processes of collecting evidence for war crimes or crimes against humanity;
13. So-called KLA is to be referred to as 'a gang, terrorists and criminals';
14. NATO-forces are to be referred to as 'aggressors';
15. Keep emphasizing the fact that the servicemen of the Yugoslav army and the police are 'freedom fighters' (ANEM 1999: 312-313).

Six out of the 15 points written in the instructions explicitly mention the language that is to be used by journalist in their reporting (points 8, 9, 11, 13, 14 and 15). The language prescribed in these points is to be found in *Politika* but not in *Pobjeda*. This is a good example of how the mental models of the relevant context in *Politika* and

*Pobjeda* differed. These instructions were highly relevant for *Politika* while *Pobjeda* chose not to accept them as relevant. Montenegrin authorities on their side tried to suppress the pro-Milošević media by detaining and interrogating journalists, and revoking the license for the local TV station, RTV Elmag.<sup>53</sup> There were also reports that the newspaper *Dan* and TV station Elmag were threatened by the Montenegrin government (*Politika* 29/3, 'Fear from people's words', (*Strah od narodne reči*)).

### 4.5.1.1 Media in the crossfire

Following the political tension, and during the NATO bombing in Montenegro, relations between the Yugoslav army, which was federal, and the police, which was Montenegrin, also deteriorated. According to Bulatović (2005: 333) there were 65,000 army members in Montenegro at the time, while police forces consisted of 15,000 people.

The Yugoslav Second Army (stationed in Montenegro) tried to influence the media situation in Montenegro. On April 9, 1999 they issued a ban on rebroadcasting foreign media in Serbian. The Montenegrin Ministry of Information considered the ban unlawful because the rebroadcasting of foreign programs was never explicitly banned by federal laws (cf. ANEM 1999). When the army realized that they could not directly influence the media they started drafting the journalists and initiating criminal proceedings against editors-in-chief. According to the interview with a *Pobjeda* journalist, the Montenegrin police physically protected the *Pobjeda* building from the army during the NATO bombing.

The Montenegrin authorities, by not recognizing the federal government and issuing the obligation for employees to go to work (see 4.4.2, *radna obaveza*) thus indirectly refused the draft. This work obligation was annulled by the Federal Constitutional Court, but did not change the situation on the ground.

## 4.6 Media: Micro-context model

Participants on the micro level of the context model are *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, i.e. journalists/editors-in-chief from the newspapers and their respective readerships. The time concentrated upon is the period of NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, but some of

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<sup>53</sup>See *Politika* 23/5/1999 about the case of Dragomir Bećirović who wrote in negative terms about Đukanović for *Politika* and was allegedly detained in the police headquarters in Podgorica for 8 hours.

the aspects of micro context addressed here are of more long-term institutional character.

In order to facilitate the analysis of the micro context model, this section pays particular attention to three dimensions that contribute to the creation of *Politika* and *Pobjeda* (cf. Royce 1999):

- 1) The artistic conventions of the given authors' community will be described. The description will include *Politika's* and *Pobjeda's* institutional background supplied with information gathered from interviews with journalists/photographers from these newspapers
- 2) The authors' conception of the readership will be addressed by asking who the ideal reader is, as understood by *Politika* and *Pobjeda*.
- 3) Finally, the authors' preoccupations will be addressed by asking how the 'author's own individual preoccupations are built into the text, and what the journalist's role is.

### 4.6.1 News conventions

Institutional background, ownership and political orientation are very important for understanding how particular newspapers function. *Politika*, the oldest newspaper on the Balkans was 'the paper with the strongest influence on public opinion, exerting, at the same time, a strong influence on Serbian political evolution in this century' (Nenadović 2002: 537).<sup>54</sup> It had a very high level of credibility. The name *Politika* had actually been used for a long time as metonym for newspapers.<sup>55</sup> *Politika* had little competition until the reintroduction of the multi-party system in 1990's.

*Pobjeda*, the longest running newspaper in Montenegro, also had a strong influence on public opinion, albeit primarily in Montenegro.<sup>56</sup> *Pobjeda* did not have any competition in Montenegro until 1997, when *Vijesti* and then, a year later, *Dan* appeared.

Both newspapers were published daily, and issued throughout the entire period of NATO bombing. Both newspapers were government owned, under the influence of the ruling Communist party until the multiparty system was reintroduced in

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<sup>54</sup>The first issue of *Politika* was published on January 25, 1904.

<sup>55</sup>The slogan used to advertise *Politika* which illustrates this point was: 'When I say newspaper, I mean *Politika*' (*Kad kažem novine, mislim Politika*).

<sup>56</sup>The first issue of *Pobjeda* was published on October 24, 1944.

Yugoslavia.<sup>57</sup> Even though the one-party system imposed certain limitations, the journalists who worked for *Politika* after the Second World War were considered professionals and achieved considerable independence in reporting (cf. Kurspahić 2003).

After the reintroduction of the multi-party system, *Politika* came under the direct control of Slobodan Milošević,<sup>58</sup> and *Pobjeda* under Milo Đukanović.<sup>59</sup> The process of deterioration of *Politika*'s professional identity started at the end of the 1980's when nationalist forces openly returned to politics. *Politika* was said to be at the forefront of the awakening nationalism and myth mania in Serbia (Marović 2002; Veljanovski 1999), and to be 'one of the three pillars on which Serbia stood – joining the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts and the Serbian Orthodox church' (Marović 2002: 275). One of the affairs that was taken as an example of the deterioration in professionalism was the so called 'Vojko and Savle' affair, a 'humoresque' published on January 18, 1987. Two well known public figures (Gojko Nikoliš, medical doctor and General Pavle Savić, physicist) were portrayed unprofessionally in this 'humoresque' in *Politika* which led to a public scandal. The authors of the text were not revealed at the time, but some members of the city committee of the Communist party were suspects. This event has been discussed in the media in Serbia from time to time and in 2007 still proved to be construed as important and relevant (for example *Nin* 16.8.2007, Minović 2007b).

The director of the *Politika* company, Živorad Minović, publicly acknowledged that he was being controlled by external forces, saying that 'I have the obligation not to allow anything to be published in *Politika*, which is not in line with the Communist party, which is not its politics' (Biserko et al. 2004: 109; Marović 2002: 217). This incident marked the beginning of 'the absolute freedom of speech' in a negative sense

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<sup>57</sup>On March 1, 2002 *Politika* was transformed into a company called: *Politika* Newspapers & Magazines, 50% owned by *Politika* AD and 50% by a German corporation Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ). The process of transforming *Pobjeda* into *akcionarsko društvo* started in 2003 and ended in December 29, 2005 with the majority of shares belonging to the state (*Pobjeda*, 2.1.2006).

<sup>58</sup>Kurspahić (2003: 27) gives an alternative view. He claims that the Serbian media actually made Milošević. Some of the most important people in media in Serbia (like the leaders of *Politika* and the TV station RTV Belgrade) became friends with Milošević before he came to power. Together they worked in removing the unwanted people from positions that could hurt Milošević. The launching of Milošević was achieved, according to Kurspahić, by the media through the now famous sentence '*Niko ne sme da vas bije*' that was repeated endlessly on TV.

<sup>59</sup>*Savez komunista Crne Gore* (Communist Party of Montenegro) until June 1991 and later *Demokratska partija socijalista* (Democratic Socialist Party) from June 1991.

(Gredelj 1996:143). An alternative view was offered by Minović (2007a: 31, 2007b) in which politicians were to blame for misusing *Politika*.

Another sign of the deterioration of professionalism in *Politika*, according to its critics, was the introduction of the column 'Echoes and Reactions' (*Odjeci i reagovanja*). That column consisted of letters from readers and was published from July 1988 to March 1991. It was later discovered that the letters were not written by the readers, but by politicians (cf. Mimica and Vučetić 2001). The director Minović, had introduced the 'people' (*narod*) as the main agent through this column and thus started building 'Us-Them' categories. *Narod* took the role of the Communist party censors or in Minić's words: 'At the great cross-roads of Yugoslav journalism, *Politika*, celebrating its anniversary, can repeat that it has no other editorial program, but to be with the people'. These letters seemed to have encouraged Serbian nationalism. Critics of this period like Nenadović (2002: 541) call it 'the pseudo-patriotic and chauvinistic pamphleteering offensive, not only against political opponents and those within Serbia with different opinions, but also against whole nations outside Serbia'. A round table in December 2001 was devoted to discussions about the important role this column had for the political situation in the country at the time.<sup>60</sup> In 1992 *Politika* published a series of interviews with important political oppositional figures which was given as evidence for its increasing openness to different views (Ćurgus 2003). But that period lasted only one year, after which *Politika* returned to its onesidedness (Logar 2003: 23). Many journalists from *Politika* tried to resist the political instrumentalization of their newspaper. Some of these journalists were fired, some given minimum wages and others left of their own accord (cf. Marović 2002).

*Pobjeda* was criticized for the same type of unprofessionalism as *Politika*. It was accused of transforming from a pro-socialist newspaper, supporting 'brotherhood and unity' (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) at the end of the 1980's into a promoter of pro-nationalist, war mongering politics (Građanin, 2006 'War for peace'). In the beginning of the 1990's *Pobjeda* followed Milošević's politics and used the same strategies and vocabulary as *Politika*. Letters from readers also played an important role in *Pobjeda*. Those letters expressed exclusive support for the political views of the ruling party; a situation reminiscent of that in *Politika* (Andrijašević 1999: 14). This situation started

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<sup>60</sup>All these letters from the column are collected on a CD and are sold as an attachment to the book *Odjeci i reagovanja* edited by Aljoša Mimica and Radina Vučetić.



changing in the middle of the 1990's and changed totally when Đukanović distanced himself from Milošević and *Pobjeda* turned towards a pro-Đukanović stance. Information from Serbia during the NATO bombing was scarce in *Pobjeda*, which becomes clear when it is compared to another Montenegrin newspaper *Vijesti* during the same period of time (Lakić 2005: 9.2.2).<sup>61</sup>

##### *Organizational issues*

The organizational structure of both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* was hierarchical. The editor-in-chief was on the top, followed by the desk chief, with journalists at the bottom of the pyramid. The editor-in-chief was the one to decide what was going to be published and which byline the article would have. An article could be signed with a journalist's own name, with one of the standard abbreviations, N.P (*novinar Politike* – journalist of *Politika*), U.R. (*unutrašnja rubrika* – internal column) or K.R. (*kulturna rubrika* – culture column) or it could be without signature. Further, the editors-in-chief gave titles to articles, shortened articles, and adjusted them in any way they deemed necessary. During the war periods the anonymous and collective 'signatures' dominated over the individual journalists' names (Ćurgus 1999).

The organization of the roles involved in the production of media has a great impact on the language as well (Bell 1991). Following Bell's model, which draws on Goffman and Hymes, to identify four main roles (principle, author, editor and animator) one can compare *Politika's* and *Pobjeda's* structure. Table 4.1 is the adaptation of Bell's model of roles involved in the production of media – the text in bold font is the description of the situation both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* during the NATO bombing.

*The principal* or originator is 'an institution whose position or stance is expressed'. Since both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were financed through the government/republic budgets, the proprietors were the parties/politicians in power – primarily Milošević and Đukanović. They influenced the newspaper through the most influential people in the newspapers – directors and editors-in-chief. According to Minić (2007: 10), Milošević was the invisible editor-in-chief in *Politika*. The editors-in-chief were directly involved in producing the language during the NATO bombing, according to interviews with the journalists.

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<sup>61</sup>The description of *Pobjeda's* role in political life is relatively brief as far less material has been published about it than about *Politika*.

*The author* is a person who forms the content, while *the editor* is a person who modifies the journalist's draft. Authorship is supposed to be the work of many different people in the newspapers. Bell underlines the importance of the idea of embedded authorship (Bell 1991: 51). A text written by a single journalist goes through several versions before it is published. Sometimes the final product is not recognizable if compared to the first version of the text. According to interviews with journalists, both newspapers were working according to these principles, but during the crisis policies became stricter. That meant that very often the embedded authorship was not practiced, and different roles were not followed or were mixed. The informant from *Politika* said that the journalists had nothing to do with the front page news during the NATO bombing. 'Everything' was done by the editor-in-chief. *The animator* is the 'physical sounding box verbalizing the utterance'. Even though they had no impact on the language, their role was very important during the NATO bombing – the fact that newspapers were published every day was proof that the government existed and it was a psychological support for the citizens showing that things are more or less 'normal' since newspapers were still functioning.

ROLES	SUBROLES	NEWSROOM POSITION	LANGUAGE FUNCTION
Principal	Commercial: business institution – <b>both Pobjeda and Politika were pro-government</b>  Professional: news institution	Proprietor  Managers <b>Dragan Hadži Antić in Politika</b> <b>Slobodan Vuković in Pobjeda</b>  Editorial executives <b>editors-in-chief</b>	Usually no direct, overt language input; <b>Politika followed semi-official instructions from the government (4.5.1) while Pobjeda did not</b>  General language prescription, rare specific prescription <b>Both in Politika and Pobjeda editors-in-chief give specific prescriptions</b>
Author	Author	Journalist	Generates news language: responsible for original syntactic and discourse form <b>Journalists were highly restricted by the laws and by the pro-government editors-in-chief.</b>
Editor	Overseer	Chief reporter Chief subeditor	General and specific language prescription

ROLES	SUBROLES	NEWSROOM POSITION	LANGUAGE FUNCTION
	Copy editor	Subeditor Copy editor News editor	Modifies language, responsible for its intermediate and final form
	Interpreter	News editor Sub editor  <b>All of the above mentioned roles were merged into one role – that of editor-in-chief</b>	Responsible for prominence and presentation – orders headlines, links, visuals, graphological form, verbal interpretation <b>Editors-in-chief were responsible for forming front pages, giving headlines, visuals et.</b>
Animator	Transmitter	Typesetter Proof reader	Responsible for accurate graphological transmission
	Technical	Printer	<b>No language input</b>

Table 4.1: Roles in media production after Bell (1991: 39)

#### 4.6.2 Authors' conception of the readership

The relationship between the newspapers and the readership is a complex variable. The newspaper being an authority and controlling the flow of information could be seen as a stronger participant in the relationship. The readership is usually and mostly unseen and partially unknown, but the relationship between the readership and the newspapers is institutionalized. But the readership of *Politika* became both known and visible while reacting to *Politika's* falling standards of reporting on several occasions: yelling in front of the newspapers headquarters that *Politika* was lying (Marović 2002: 257), throwing eggs on its building and burning the newspapers (Marović 2002: 370) and simply not buying the newspapers (Marović 2002: 371). Nevertheless, due to the institutionalized nature of this relationship, the social distance between the readership and the newspaper is maximal.

In 2004 in the report 'The ownership of the media' (*Vlasništva medija*), Đoković (2004: 21) defines *Politika's* readership as follows:

*Politika* is a morning newspaper with a circulation of 115,000, whose 230,000 readers consist of middle class readers, politicians, businessmen and intellectuals.

The fact that there are two versions of *Politika*, one for Belgrade and one for the rest of the country shows that the newspaper differentiates its readership. For economy of

space, however, this differentiation will not be further explored in this study. According to Vuković (1999), approximately 100,000 people read *Pobjeda*. The readership profile is not explicitly mentioned or explained there.

The conception of *Politika*'s and *Pobjeda*'s readership was not debated until after 2000. It was presupposed, during the one-party system, that all working people could be included in possible readership. At the time of NATO bombing (and during the 90's) the readership of *Politika* was perceived by some to include 'all the people' (see Minović above).

The number of copies of *Politika* sold during the 1990's varied from fifty to three hundred thousand. These large figures were achieved using government funds, but every fifth newspaper was not being sold (Marović 2002: 256). Being a pro-government newspaper, *Politika* had access to cheap printing paper and special deals on imported paper and could therefore afford to have large print runs.

The readership of *Politika* and *Pobjeda* is connected both to the political sympathies of the audience and to personal and family habits. During the end of the 1980's and the larger part of the 1990's, *Politika* was pro-Milošević, while *Pobjeda* changed from pro-Milošević to pro-Đukanović. During the conflict, the conception of the readership was possibly expanded from a national to an international audience.

As there is no direct knowledge about the model reader (cf. Hall 1980/94), it is to be assumed that the model reader is constructed by editor-in-chief/journalist, 'who assumes that the addressee has similar knowledges of each contextual level organized by similar schematic systems to allow interpretation of meaning' (Leckie-Tarry 1995: 29).

### 4.6.3 Authors' preoccupations

The authors' preoccupations in general are explicitly revealed in the booklets published for anniversary celebrations both in *Pobjeda* and *Politika*. According to Vuković (1999) *Pobjeda* conceives itself as 'an interpreter and participant in the events, [...] a writer of life chronicles and a part of the life of the citizens'. Further, the values that are underlined as a foundation of the *Pobjeda*'s politics are: 'professionalism, political maturity and cultural dialogue'. The aim of the journalists is to 'inform citizens correctly about all important events, especially in Montenegro' (Vuković 1999). It is interesting to point out that *Pobjeda* indirectly admitted that it did not always adhere to objective journalism. In the documentary that was made in

honor of *Pobjeda*'s sixtieth anniversary there was an allusion to 'the times of 'tripping'', meaning the time when *Pobjeda* did not follow its professional rules of objectivity. In another anniversary booklet, while summing up *Pobjeda*'s work, it was noted that *Pobjeda* was the first to open up to different sources and not only rely on one governmental source (Vuković 1999: 27), again indirectly commenting on times when *Pobjeda* had only one source.

*Politika* also perceived itself as an objective interpreter of the unfolding events, on a ceaseless quest for the truth. Its tradition goes back to the first issue and its openly proclaimed aim – to have an independent newspaper (Marović 2002: 369). In *Politika* one could also read indirect self-criticism uttered through the voices of famous people. On the occasion of the one hundred and second anniversary of *Politika*, well known intellectuals were asked about their opinion of *Politika*. Most of them had positive things to say, underlining the role of *Politika*'s positive tradition, but several mentioned the lower standards that the newspaper had adopted during the 1990's.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, despite these admonitions according to Marović (2002), the necessary catharsis has not yet been achieved by *Politika*.

### 4.7 Summary

This chapter presented an innovative approach to context and applied it to the selected material. Context was approached through a socio-cognitive understanding of personal mental models of context. Two relevant context layers were focused on – that of politics and that of the media, following the criteria of the importance and relevance of these layers for this study. Further, political and media contexts were analyzed in their macro and micro dimensions despite the difficulty of separating the micro from the macro and the slippage between the two dimensions. The three most salient aspects of the context were thus identified:

1. The political situation was diagnosed as a serious political rift between official Belgrade and official Podgorica prior to the beginning of NATO air war. The rift started to show during the Montenegrin elections in 1997, and became fully exposed during the NATO bombing. Political differences also existed within Montenegro, between the political parties historical aligned with pro-Serbian and pro-Montenegrin

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<sup>62</sup>*Politika*, February 2, 2006, Celebrating 102<sup>nd</sup> birthday: 'Both traditional and modern' (*I tradicija i moderno*).

positions. These political differences could be attributed both to different ideologies and to the personal desire to remain in power on behalf of Milošević and Đukanović.

2. The media was polarized into pro- and anti-Milošević in FRY and pro- and anti-Đukanović in Montenegro.

3. The working situation for the media in the FRY was extremely difficult due to the physical threat posed by NATO bombing, and the restrictions imposed by both formal and informal government regulations.

Against this backdrop, the following chapter will more closely illuminate the political and media aspects found in this analyst's context model from a language perspective.

## **5.0 Orders of discourse: politics and media**

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In the previous chapter the political and media layers of context situating them before and during the NATO bombing were identified and described. This chapter turns now to first describing the orders of discourse that are institutionally connected to politics and media, and then to describing and situating the language characteristics (social language) of the corpus material. This chapter can thus be seen as a diachronic co-text of the selected articles and, together with the previous chapter on context, serves as an introduction to Part III, which presents the detailed linguistic and semiotic analysis.

The division of orders of discourse into political and media is again primarily done for analytical purposes as these two orders of discourse merge. The political order of discourse is connected with politics enacted through the work of political bodies such as the government, national assembly, political parties, political leaders, etc., while the media order of discourse is connected to the media institutions. Media discourses sometimes distinguish themselves from political discourses and sometimes wholeheartedly adopt political discourses. The orders of discourse found in the corpus newspapers can be qualified as a mixture, and are thus referred to as a political media discourse.

If political communication is a 'type of interaction which is happening by means of available language knowledge, within the area of political action, within some community, and between two or more political subjects' (Pupovac 1990: 133), the visual-verbal language in the *Politika* and *Pobjeda* articles analyzed during the NATO

bombing can be placed in the category of political communication mediated through the newspaper medium. The political subjects in this case are government politicians whose language is mediated through the newspapers and, on the other hand, the readership of the newspapers.

Political language is referred to by a variety of names in the literature, including sociolect, register (Halliday and Hasan 1989) or social language (Gee 2005). In this study the term 'social language' will be adopted as it 'applies to specific varieties of language used to enact specific identities and carry out specific sorts of activities.' (Gee 2005: 46). The emphasis in this definition is on the contextual use of a particular variety, i.e. semantics, in addition to the grammatical (syntactic and lexical) components of that variety of language. It is important to address both of these elements, as the same semantic content can be expressed in different contexts, using different social languages (which also include different genres). For example, the experience of NATO bombing can be told as a story to a friend, as news in newspaper, as a part of a politician's speech, or as evidence in a court of law. While all these four social languages can be used to tell the same story, they differ in form. As a specific variety of language, political language has its own lexicon and phrasing, consisting of different types of grammatical devices that co-locate or co-relate with each other and as such can be learned (Gee 2005; Klikovac 1997, 2001, 2005). As with language in general, political language in particular is changing, as developments take place in the socio-political situation of the country. There is thus a relationship of reflexivity between the political language and the political system within which it is developing. Such changes may happen slowly or abruptly.

In the following sections the political language used in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* will be historically situated, showing similarities and differences with the political language used previously. This will be done by first giving an overview of some general characteristics of the political language during the period of the one-party political system in the former Yugoslavia. After that, key characteristics of the political language *used in government-friendly media* in the period of the multi-party system (from 1990-1999) will be described. Finally, some salient characteristics of the political language used in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, based on the material analyzed during the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia (March-June 1999) will be outlined.



### 5.1 Political language in the one-party political system

During the period of one-party political rule (1945-1990), the Communist party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) had the power and means to produce both the leading and the only official order of political discourse in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. Alternative types of discourses existed, for example, the discourses of dissidents like Milovan Đilas, but they did not achieve the status of leading political discourses. Nevertheless, the leading political discourse was not static; it underwent changes as the political situation changed. Shifts in the political language during the one-party system have been described and summarized by Pupovac (1990: 135) whose study was based on a close analysis of some KPJ documents.<sup>63</sup> Noting changes in the language, Pupovac proposed a division of the KPJ language into three phases: old, middle, and new party language. Since these phases form the previous stages in a continuum to which the language of the corpus in this study belongs, key characteristics of the political language from these phases will be reviewed here.

1. *The old party language* period lasted from before the Second World War until the beginning of the 1960's. According to Pupovac, the political language from this period is characterized by simple binary schemas such as:

THEM	US
<i>Kapitalizam</i> 'capitalism'	<i>Diktatura proleterijata</i> 'dictatorship of the proletariat'
<i>Svjetski imperijalistički rat</i> 'imperialist war'	<i>Svjetski mir</i> 'world peace'
<i>Očigledna katastrofa</i> 'obvious catastrophe'	<i>Jednakost</i> 'equality'
<i>Zapao u krizu</i> 'fell into crisis'	<i>Pravednost</i> 'justice'
<i>Propast društva</i> 'the destruction of the society', etc.	<i>Prosperitet</i> 'prosperity', etc.
<i>Svjetska reakcija</i> 'world reaction'	<i>Svjetska revolucija</i> 'world revolution'
<i>Kontrarevolucija</i> 'counter-revolution'	<i>Sovjetska Rusija</i> 'Soviet Russia'

Figure 5.1: Binary schemas from Old party-language period; from Pupovac (1990)

These referential expressions were accompanied by numerous, binary structured predication expressions (see Figure 5.1.) and numerous quantifiers and intensifiers

<sup>63</sup>Pupovac worked on a project done by 'Center for ideological and theoretical work' *Centar za idejno-teorijski rad* (which was a Communist party center) in cooperation with Departement of Linguistics at the University of Zagreb in the middle of the 1980's. This resulted in an important book, *The Language of Politics, Jezik politike* (Vrhovec-Vučemilović 1987), which critically investigated the relationship between language and politics in one-party Yugoslavia.

(‘emptiness’ (*pustoš*); ‘economical disintegration and decay’ (*privredna dezintegracija i raspadanje*); ‘all’ (*sviju*), ‘all world’ (*cijelom svijetu*), ‘many’ (*mnogim*), etc.). Pupovac characterized the political language from this phase as having an ‘apodictic, critical and agitating tone’ (*apodiktičnost, kritičnost i agitatorski ton*) and explained it as a result of the socio-political context of that time – the desire to change society. Towards the end of this period, after the war, the Communist Party came to power and the political language started changing in the direction of ‘auto-performative and auto-referential language (message referring to itself) which resulted in language becoming more theoretical and ideological’ (Pupovac 1990: 135).

2. *The middle party language* period lasted from the beginning of the 1960's to the end of the 1970's. According to Pupovac, the tendency towards an auto-performative and an auto-referential language continued during this phase and was joined by ‘estheticization’ (*estetiziranost*) through the use of (i) ‘dead figures of speech’ such as: ‘The society took long steps forward...’ (*Društvo je učinilo krupne korake naprijed...*); and (ii) qualifiers and intensifiers – ‘essential meaning’ (*suštinsko značenje*), ‘important suppositions’ (*bitne pretpostavke*), ‘deep transformation’ (*dubok preobražaj*), ‘efficient functioning’ (*efikasno funkcioniranje*), etc. There is also frequent use of modals: ‘must’ (*morati*), and ‘need’ (*trebati*). The main aim of estheticization, according to Pupovac, was to cover up the auto-referential language and to make it acceptable for the audience. Pupovac concludes that by overusing a large number of qualifiers, intensifiers and neologisms, the middle party language period became non-transparent and incomprehensible. Nevertheless, he claims, that period was a period of extremely high lexical innovativeness.

3. *The new party language* period lasted from the end of the 1970's until 1989. As the Yugoslav society went through substantial transformations, the party language from the middle period lost its ritual power, according to Pupovac, because the ‘estheticization’ became less powerful than the real referential characteristics of the socio-historical situation of the Yugoslav society’. The language became hetero-performative and hetero-referential (*heteroperformativan i heteroreferencijalan*). The use of euphemisms became more predominant than the use of qualifiers and intensifiers.

The political language in SFRY during the one-party system period was criticized not only by linguists (Pupovac 1990; Simić 1996; Vrhovec-Vučemilović 1987), but also by sociologists and lawyers (cf. Šare 2004). The main criticism was leveled at the

manipulation of language which prevented language from serving its main function – communication. This criticism presupposes the communicative role of the language as positive communication, and does not take into account that not communicating is also a form of communication. The responses to this criticism can be twofold. On the one hand the social constructionist response would be that this form of language is simply another way of representing events. On the other hand, it could be that the very act of ‘mystification’ was intended to serve the function of ‘mystifying’ something.<sup>64</sup> The observation that language became its own aim (Pupovac 1990) could also be interpreted to show that language was used in order to maintain the existing order or the existing political system. This interpretation is closer to Klajn’s explanation that the language had a ritual-ideological aim (Klajn 1991: 165), i.e. to place a speaker into a certain ideological social group, or following the terminology of this study, into a certain discourse type. As mentioned above, Pupovac’s study was done on party documents, but its findings cannot be limited only to the study of party language. The tight connection between political language and the media was shown by, among others, Gredelj, who argued that the media replicated the leading political language, rather than producing an alternative discourse.<sup>65</sup> Gredelj also pointed out that the dominant communication model in the Yugoslav society from the end of the Second World War until 1975 (the period of his study) played a much narrower role than a communication model is supposed to play, since it primarily served the aims of the ideological-political system. And the main actors in ‘creating’ the new society were journalists (Gredelj 1995: 82).

In short, it can be noted that the political language which developed within the KPJ influenced both public and private sphere and was recognizable by a high number of quantifiers, qualifiers, intensifiers, dead metaphors and modal verbs that were used to describe dichotomies of a bipolar world. Another feature of the political language from this period, described in the literature, is the bureaucratization of political language.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>I am here quoting Pupovac and using the term mystification. In this thesis, which adopts a constructionist approach, mystification is a somewhat anachronistic term as it implies that there is a true picture of reality and thus somebody who presents that picture wrongly. This study sees what others term mystification as different constructions of reality.

<sup>65</sup>Quoted in Marković (1999: 207), based on Gredelj’s content analysis of newspapers *Borba* and *Politika* in the period from 1945-1975.

<sup>66</sup>Bureaucratic language became a topic in Serbian linguistics at the end of 1970’s when the administration, politics and mass media had already started using a certain way of speaking/writing

### 5.1.1 Bureaucratization of political language

During the one-party political system, the bureaucratization of political language developed first in different types of legislation, e.g. The Law on Associated Labor (cf. Klikovac 2001) and later spread from there through politicians and the media into the public and private spheres. This movement of political language from the public to the private was used in numerous series and movies (for example ‘Do you remember Doli Bel [Šjećaš li se Doli Bel] directed by Emir Kusturica) in order to produce a comical effect. The comical effect was thus produced when a particular social language was used in the ‘wrong’ context, as for example, the social language of a political meeting transferred to a family gathering. While describing the process of bureaucratization in the Serbian language over the last couple of decades, Klikovac (2001) identifies several features in Serbian that she claims mystify the language by making it less accessible to readers. These features are nominalization, indefiniteness, generality, explicitness, over-wordiness, euphemisms and (over/mis)usage of quasi-scientific and foreign words. At the same time as mystifying, Klikovac continues, this bureaucratic political language becomes a powerful means of manipulation because it enables the speaker/writer to be:

talking a lot and not say anything important, or saying something without attracting attention or provoking a suitable reaction [*from the hearers/readers*]. Furthermore, because it comes from a power position, because it is not comprehensible and it simulates expertise, this language induces reverence and protects the speaker from possible criticism. (Klikovac 2005: 221).

In addition, bureaucratic language is always longer than non-bureaucratic. So called ‘and-groups’ (*i-grupe*) make the text longer and become ‘tools for blunting attention’. These ‘and-groups’, as for example: ‘jobs and tasks’ (*poslovi i zadaci*), ‘measures and actions’ (*mere i aktivnosti*) ‘security and safety’ (*bezbednost i sigurnost*), ‘brotherhood and unity’ (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) (cf. Šare 2005), were one of the main characteristics of political discourse during this time; they gave a feeling of wholeness and roundness of expression.

### 5.2 Political language in the multi-party political system

The development of different types of political discourses in the multi-party political system in the former Yugoslavia coincided with the wars of the 1990’s. During the

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(Klikovac 2004). For an overview of some works on public speech and its functional styles see Radovanović 2004: 174 and Šare 2004: Chapter 3.

short period preceding the wars, a tendency was noted that political language was becoming more precise and more comprehensible (Klikovac 2001: 113).<sup>67</sup> During that period political and bureaucratic language still partially overlapped, but not to the same extent as before (Klikovac 2005: 221). That development was abruptly stopped by the wars. On the one hand, the multi-party system allowed the development of alternative political centers which thus had the possibility and means to develop alternative political discourses. That possibility was visible in the proliferation of alternative media. On the other hand, the wars caused the (re)introduction of (new sets of) bipolarities that some authors call two Serbias (Đerić 2004): a Serbia of 'peace discourse' and a Serbia of 'war discourse'. The Serbia that was prone to the 'war discourse' represented by the leading politicians (Milošević) used some of the characteristics reminiscent of one-party political language, partially because the politicians in power came from the Communist party and were well-versed in that social language. This is shown in Pankov (2006) where he notes that the political language used after 1989 by the transformed communists around Slobodan Milošević retained the same verbal strategies and forms as during the one-party period: revolutionary phrases, euphemisms, agitation against the enemy, etc. The novelty was the introduction of national symbols which were discouraged during the one-party system. Or in other terminology, 'one type of stereotype was exchanged for other types' (Minić 2007: 4).

The tensions in this development of political language, which were, of course, dependent on context, were transferred onto the media. In government friendly media, the tension between the simplification of the political language and its rebureaucratization was further complicated by the propaganda elements which entered political media language, including the period during the NATO bombing.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, while there was a strong public need for better media coverage through more precise and clear language because of the war (Todorović 1998: 21), there was

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<sup>67</sup>From the early 1990s, politics ceased to be the main bastion of bureaucratic language (early on Ratković [1988:245] noted that political language "seems to be [...] getting somehow simpler and more understandable," but it was moving, in a remarkably gentler form, into economy. It also remained, however, in the mass media and other arenas of language use. ' (Klikovac 2001: 113).

<sup>68</sup>As mentioned earlier in the study, propaganda elements are here understood as those linguistic and semiotic resources used to sharpen the bipolarities in certain political language rather than as an evaluative category.

simultaneously further ‘mystification’<sup>69</sup> of the media language in order to promote certain political aims by ‘manufacturing consent’.<sup>70</sup>

The particular use of the media language in the government-friendly media has been well documented and analyzed by Bugarski (1997, 2001, 2002). He describes the strategies used in political media language, which he calls ‘hate speech’, through both pragmatic/rhetoric and stylistic analysis. Some of the strategies he identifies which characterize the ‘hate speech’ are: lies, half-truths and the hiding of information, double standards, the use of euphemisms in order to make bad news acceptable, distancing oneself from unwanted parties/persons, terminological blurring, describing ‘Us’ as the best, political hyperbola (over-emphasizing all facts that can support one side), verbal execution (naming political opponents with negative terms; elements of verbal aggression), blackening the West, etc. (Bugarski 2001: 144) and semantic change in meaning ‘semantic dispersion, inversion, confusion, manipulation, evasion and euphemization’, (*semantička disperzija, inverzija, konfuzija, manipulacija, evazija i eufemizacija*) (Bugarski 1997: 110). In addition, Bugarski points to the mythologization of the political language, i.e. going back into history, connecting to both the Kosovo myth<sup>71</sup> and the Saint Sava myth<sup>72</sup> in order to cover the real aims of the users, which, he argues, are gaining territorial and material advantage by killing people (Bugarski 1997: 105). In connection with the mythologization, words with high emotional connotations such as ‘sacrifice’ (*žrtva*), ‘betrayal’ (*izdaja*), and ‘heavenly kingdom’ (*nebesko carstvo*), started appearing regularly in the media. On

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<sup>69</sup>Mystification of the media language during the multi-party period has also been the topic of several studies (Bugarski 1995, 2001, 2002; Pankov 2005; Čolović 2000a, 2000b; Brunner 1999, etc.)

<sup>70</sup>An example of *Politika*’s use of ideological techniques in 1991 is the ‘meticulous choice of lexical and syntactical forms, repetition of the same or similar syntagms, and the specific formulation of particular news [...] style: long, ornamented, sentences with lots of descriptions’ shown in Dimitrijević-Kozić (1999: 297). For more on manufacturing consent see Herman and Chomsky (1988).

<sup>71</sup>The Kosovo myth refers to a particular construction of a battle between the Turks and Serbs (although other nationalities participated in both armies) that took place in 1389. The leader of the Serbs, Lazar Hrebljanović could choose between accepting the Turkish sultan Murat as his master or to resist and risk losing the battle. He chose the latter solution even though he knew that the Turks had a much bigger army, and that his army was not large or strong enough. This choice was interpreted as a choice between a material, earthly kingdom and a heavenly kingdom. Lazar chose the heavenly kingdom, he lost the battle, the earthly kingdom and his own life. This battle has served as inspiration for a wide range of folk poetry and is the material for the Kosovo myth. During the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia (from 1989 and onwards) the Kosovo myth was used by politicians to move the masses to war. The NATO bombing of Yugoslavia was an excellent recontextualization of the myth: the fight between the very powerful (NATO) and materially weak (FRY); the leader who chose the ‘heavenly kingdom’ (Milošević), who lost the material battle but won the heavenly one. Defeat was perceived as a victory as it was the case in this particular construction of the Kosovo battle.

<sup>72</sup>Saint Sava was the founder of the Serbian Orthodox church in the thirteenth century and was in favour of connecting church and state.

the level of phrase structures used by the politicians, Bugarski (1996: 11) cites examples of frequent structures, e.g.:

- a) N(oun) *nema* N: *Sloboda nema cenu*. 'Freedom does not have a price.' – transformed into *Mir nema alternative*. – 'Peace does not have an alternative', i.e. 'There is no alternative to peace'
- b) *Prvo* N *onda* N: *Prvo ustav onda izbori*. 'First constitution, than elections.'
- c) *Ili ... ili*: 'either ... or'
- d) *Ako ... onda*: 'if.. than'

These structures became so entrenched in everyday media language that the possibility of using alternatives like 'be able to' (*moći*), 'some'(*neki*), 'some time' (*nekad*), 'maybe' (*možda*), 'we will try' (*pokušaćemo*), instead of, 'must' (*morati*), 'all' (*svi*) 'never' (*nikad*), 'we must not' (*ne smemo*), 'we will not' (*nećemo*) was no longer an option (Bugarski 1996: 11).

The political media language that developed in the government-friendly media during the 1990's thus retained old dichotomies, polarizing the media picture between 'Them' and 'Us' by using a range of lexico-grammatical resources. Some of those resources were exemplified above, and some will be exemplified in the following section. It is important to note that the 'hate speech' differed in strength depending on the actual political situation. It escalated during pre-election periods and other crisis periods, particularly during the wars, or the NATO bombing.

There is no extensive linguistic analysis of the language of Montenegrin media during 1990's known to this analyst, except Lakić (2005) who showed similar tendencies to those described above in Montenegrin newspapers during the NATO bombing.

### **5.3 Political media language during the NATO bombing**

After this general overview of characteristics of the political language in the former Yugoslavia, the focus will now shift to the political language used in the corpus. The period under analysis is a clear continuation of the previous period. This continuation is visible in linguistic strategies like nominalization, categorization, explicitness, etc. that are used to achieve dichotomies. Both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* use these strategies, although the participants who made up the dichotomies differed. Before turning to these elements, some constraints on the production of media language and its mediation will be addressed.

### 5.3.1 Media constraints

Political language as mediated through newspapers is constrained by several technical, spatial and temporal factors of media production. There is a certain amount of space that can be used for different news items depending on the type of technology used in the production of newspapers. Further, news items must be framed by headlines, photographs and by genre (for more on visual and genre framing see Chapter 6). And since the news is produced in a very short period of time, the journalistic style is often full of set phrases and patterns which enable journalists to write quickly. For example, the empty spaces in the following can be filled with appropriate content:

- a) *Politika*: Predsednik \_\_\_\_ održao je sastanak \_\_\_\_ . Na sastanku je razmatrano \_\_\_\_ . Ocenjeno je da \_\_\_\_ . 'President \_\_\_\_ had a meeting. In the meeting it was examined \_\_\_\_ It was assessed that \_\_\_\_.'
- b) *Pobjeda*: Predsjednik \_\_\_\_ primio je danas \_\_\_\_ . U razgovoru je razmotreno \_\_\_\_ Zajednički je ukazano \_\_\_\_ . 'President \_\_\_\_ received today \_\_\_\_ . In the talks it was examined \_\_\_\_ . Together it was pointed out \_\_\_\_.'

This characteristic has been called the automatization of the language (Katnić-Bakaršić 2001: 166) and even journalists who try to introduce something new into their texts are very quickly copied, and their innovativeness becomes a cliché (cf. Katnić-Bakaršić 2001). All of the aforementioned technical constraints influence the political language used in media.

Another characteristic of media language is the very act of mediation, i.e. the possibility to 'orchestrate voices'. The journalist, who represents the newspaper, has his/her voice, which in this study is called the authorial voice. The authorial voice introduces other voices into the text through direct speech, indirect speech or rephrasing. Sometimes it is easy to differentiate these voices, thanks to explicit attribution given by the authorial voice, but sometimes it is difficult to know whose positions are being presented. As the articles analyzed in this study are either news or interviews, they consist of direct and indirect quotes by various politicians. The politicians are chosen by the newspapers according to their political views, i.e. politicians with views friendly towards the government are quoted as support. The difference between the opinions given by the authorial voice and other cited voices is almost non-existent (for examples see Chapters 6 and 7). Not giving space to different views is a characteristic of these pro-government newspapers. This tendency was strengthened during the war. Because of this characteristic, and to avoid over-complex



analysis, the different forms of speech (direct, indirect and rephrasing) will not be differentiated in the following analysis, i.e. the examples will not be particularly marked as somebody's voice. They will be treated as elements of one social language – the political language mediated through *Politika* or *Pobjeda*.

### 5.3.2 Dichotomies in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

Clear dichotomies are present both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. They both follow the pattern of dividing the world into 'Us' who are good and 'Them' who are bad. The content, however, of the 'Us/Them' categories differ in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. In the following, the main division of the dichotomies will be given, while more detailed analysis is given in Part III.

In *Politika* patterns can be identified that are reminiscent of the old party-language period (compare Figure 5.1):

THEM	US
<i>Kapitalizam</i> 'capitalism'	<i>Svjetski mir</i> 'world peace'
<i>Novi svjetski poredak</i> 'new world order'	<i>Jednakost</i> 'equality'
<i>Diktat sile</i> 'power dictatorship'	<i>Pravednost</i> 'justice'
	<i>Prosperitet</i> 'prosperity', etc.

Figure 5.2: Dichotomies found in *Politika*

The ideological conception of the government in power in Yugoslavia expressed in *Politika* promoted the dichotomy between the 'bad imperialist West' trying to destroy and colonize the 'peace and freedom loving nation of Yugoslavia'. Another dichotomy present in *Politika* was between the Yugoslav/Serbian government and all the 'traitors' including the 'Albanian terrorist movement'. This dichotomy will be addressed in detail in Chapter 7.

In *Pobjeda* the patterns had different content. Firstly, there was a 'democratic government' trying to develop a democratic society in cooperation with other democratic nations, but which was hampered by the autocratic government of Serbia personified in Milošević.

THEM	US
<i>Autokratija</i> ‘autocracy’ <i>Gledanje u prošlost</i> ‘looking back into the past’	<i>Demokratija</i> ‘democracy’ <i>Evropske integracije</i> ‘European integrations’ <i>Ekonomске i demokratske reforme</i> ‘economic and democratic reforms’

Figure 5.3: Dichotomies found in *Pobjeda*

A second, more ambiguous dichotomy can be observed between the Montenegrin government and NATO and the West. The ambiguity lies in the fact that while Montenegro was being bombed, the Montenegrin government was asking for the bombing to stop and at the same time aligning itself with Western values against Milošević. This ambiguity was shown in the use of alternative denotations for NATO’s bombing as, for example, ‘strikes’ (*udari*), ‘military sanctions’ (*vojne sankcije*), ‘intervention’ (*intervencija*), which make the event less tragic in order to stop people from reacting against NATO.

As shown above, these dichotomies are expressed through what Pupovac calls ‘binary schemas’. There is extensive use of qualifiers, quantifiers, intensifiers (for example, from *Politika*’s ‘evil strikes by the aggressor’ (*zlikovački udari agresora*), ‘the hardest crime against the free world’ (*najteži zločin protiv slobodnog svijeta*), and ‘all freedom-loving nations’ (*svi slobodoljubivi narodi*); to *Pobjeda*’s ‘against the whole world’ (*protiv cijelog svijeta*), ‘logic of aggression, destruction and suffering’ (*logika nasilja rušenja i stradanja*), and ‘democratic, pro-European Montenegro’ (*demokratska, proevropska Crna Gora*). Qualifiers, quantifiers and intensifiers surround strong positions in the text with names and places which both attract attention and signal the newspaper’s evaluative stance. Thus ‘NATO aggressors vs. the people’ in *Politika* and ‘democratic Đukanović vs. autocratic Milošević’ in *Pobjeda* show us the evaluative stance of the respective newspapers.

Building dichotomies, i.e. backgrounding the elements which could disturb the particular political construction and making salient those elements which support it, contributes to simplifying the world for the readers. This was done both in *Pobjeda* and *Politika* by using different linguistic and semiotic resources. In the following

section some of the most salient linguistic resources used by *Politika* and *Pobjeda* to achieve this aim will be addressed.

### 5.3.3 *Politika's and Pobjeda's social language*

In addition to discourse structures such as choice of global topics in the newspapers, schematic organization of political articles, rhetorical moves and strategies of the represented participants, the following list of linguistic features was often used in the corpus. This list is a general list illustrated with some examples which will be further analyzed in the Part III.<sup>73</sup> Where features are more characteristic for one particular newspaper, this is noted.

- Pronouns/adjectives: 'all' (*svi*), 'each' (*svaki*), 'whole' (*cijeli*). *Politika*: 'all citizens' (*svi građani*), 'all necessary measures' (*sve potrebne mere*); *Pobjeda*: 'in a conflict with the whole world' (*u konfliktu sa cijelim svijetom*), 'all political subjects' (*svi politički subjekti*). Using 'all', 'each' and 'whole' contributes to the creation of a united, homogeneous identity for people or actions.
- 'The only' (*jedini/a*): *Pobjeda*: 'the only perspective' (*jedina perspektiva*), 'the only voice of reason' (*jedini glas razuma*); *Politika*: 'the only correct decision' (*jedina ispravna odluka*). By using the adjective 'the only' alternative positions are not given a voice.
- The inclusive/exclusive use of the first person plural of personal pronouns: By using 'we' (*mi*) in different ways, i.e. sometimes including, sometimes excluding different participants, flexibility in building identities and actions is achieved.
- Superlatives: *Politika*: 'the heaviest attack' (*najteži napad*), 'the highest government functionairs' (*najviši državni funkcioneri*); *Pobjeda*: 'The most responsible in Yugoslavia' (*najodgovorniji u Jugoslaviji*), 'the heaviest challenges' (*najteža iskušenja*). Maximum amounts of measure are used to denote 'our' positive and 'their' negative sides. Superlatives are used more frequently in *Politika* than in *Pobjeda* (79 times of 16,600 words in *Politika* and 52 times of 15,600 words in *Pobjeda*)

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<sup>73</sup>As the analyzed material consisted of only 91 articles, the list is not categorized further and is considered to be a list of tendencies which should be further explored in a more extensive corpus.

- Impersonal constructions: ‘it is necessary’ (*neophodno je*). *Pobjeda*: ‘It is necessary to immediately stop the NATO strikes’ (*neophodno je odmah prekinuti NATO udare*); ‘should’ (*treba*) *Pobjeda*: ‘mistakes should be immediately corrected’ (*treba pod hitno ispraviti greške*); *Politika*: ‘the solutions to the actual problem should be accelerated’ (*treba ubrzati rešavanje nastalih problema*). Impersonal constructions put the actors in the background, so that the readers know what is supposed to be done, but not who is supposed to do it. In the above example ‘should’ (*treba*) is given as an example of an impersonal construction. *Treba* is a modal verb and is extensively used both in *Politika* (42 times) and *Pobjeda* (29 times). In addition to *treba*, other modal verbs like ‘must’ (*mora*) (used 18 times in *Politika* and 31 times in *Pobjeda*) and ‘will not’ (*neće*) (used 5 times in *Politika* and 14 times in *Pobjeda*) are also often used.
- The passive<sup>74</sup> (‘it was assessed’ (*razmotreno je*), ‘it was shown’ (*ukazano je*), ‘it is established’ (*konstatovano je*), ‘it was emphasized’ (*naglašeno je*)) is most often used while reporting decisions made at the numerous meetings both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. By using the passive, these are understood as a collective decisions and responsibility also remains collective.
- Euphemisms<sup>75</sup> are used in situations when one wants to avoid naming unpleasant things and actions, in other words in the situations when one wants to make a better picture of what is considered ‘reality’. Neither *Pobjeda* nor *Politika* make extensive use of euphemisms. Nevertheless, they are mentioned here as they are important for building Us/Them categories in, for example: *Pobjeda*: ‘military sanctions, strikes’ (*vojne sankcije, udari*) instead of bombing or killing; or *Politika*: ‘massive movement of citizens from their homes’ (*masovno pokretanje građana iz svojih domova*) instead of eviction.

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<sup>74</sup>The difference between the participle passive and the reflexive passive (e.g. *je pogoršana* vs. *se pogoršala*, ‘is deteriorated’) is that the participle passive might hint that the agent is someone in a high place, with authority, while the reflexive passive would imply that the action is executed somehow by itself.

<sup>75</sup>I adopt the term euphemisms following Serbian philological tradition, even though it could be understood as carrying the assumption of ‘one true version of reality’ which euphemisms make more pleasant than it ‘really’ is. In this study it simply implies a different version of reality. Another way of describing this characteristic would be through Appraisal theory in which euphemism is exchanged with graduation, which is explained as values by which (1) speakers graduate (raise or lower) the interpersonal impact, force or volume of their utterances, and (2) by which they graduate (blur or sharpen) the focus of their semantic categorisations. But as euphemisms graduate interpersonal impact only one way, making it ‘nicer’ graduation was not applied here.

- Extensive use of verbs/verbal phrases like ‘to contribute to’ (*doprinjeti/doprinositi*). *Pobjeda*: ‘to contribute to the cessation of NATO strikes on our country’ (*doprinesu hitnom obustavljanju NATO udara na našu zemlju*); *Politika*: ‘that he is going to contribute to bring peace as soon as possible’ (*da će doprineti da se što pre uspostavi mir*); ‘make efforts’ (*činiti/ulagati/afirmisati napore*). (*Pobjeda*: ‘they make extraordinary efforts to keep the peace’ (*čine vanredne napore da očuvaju mir*); *Politika*: ‘it has to affirm the efforts’ (*treba da afirmiše napor*). The semantic fields of *doprineti* and *činiti napore* tell the readers something about the intentions of the actors while saying nothing about the responsibility and avoiding explicitness about the completion of an action or the attainment of a goal.
- Set verbal phrases: ‘confirm the measures’ (*utvrditi mere*), *Politika*: ‘the measures that should be taken were confirmed’ (*utvrđene su mere koje treba preduzimati*). ‘Measures’ is often used in collocation with ‘measures and activities’ (*mere i aktivnosti*). In *Pobjeda* there are no examples of *mjere*, while *aktivnosti* is used more often (10 times). ‘Continue the efforts’ (*nastaviti zalaganje*), *Pobjeda*: ‘insistence on affirmation of the politics of reason and peace’ (*zalaganje na afirmaciji politike razuma i mira*), ‘insistence upon returning of peace’ (*zalaganje za povratak mira*); *Politika*: ‘expressed efforts done by the Vatican’ (*izrazio zalaganje Vatikana*); ‘turn towards’ (*okretati se prema*), *Pobjeda*: ‘they turned toward a search for political solutions’ (*okreću se traženju političkog rješenja*), *Politika*: ‘turning toward a peaceful solution of the problems’ (*okretanje mirnom rešavanju problema*).
- Use of prepositional constructions instead of adjectives and adverbs: ‘significant’ (*značajno*) becomes ‘of extreme, special importance’ (*od izuzetnog značaja*); ‘whole’ (*celo*) – ‘in its wholeness’ (*u celini*) ‘our country in its wholeness’ (*naše zemlje u celini*), etc. (for further explanation see 5.3.3.1 Nominalization)
- Phrases: ‘with the aim’ (*u cilju*) and ‘as a function of’ (*u funkciji*) are used in *Politika* more often (*u cilju* 9 times and *u funkciji* 3 times) than in *Pobjeda*, e.g. ‘with an aim of further persistent defense of sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and constitutional FRY’ (*U cilju dalje odlučne odbrane suvereniteta, teritorijalnog integriteta, nezavisnosti i ustavnog*

*uređenja SRJ*), ‘functioning as efficient adjustments in war state circumstances’ (*u funkciji efikasnog prilagođavanja okolnostima ratnog stanja*).

- Set phrases: *NP nema NP* (as Bugarski showed, see 5.2) are found in *Pobjeda*, but not in *Politika*: ‘A political solution for Kosovo does not have an alternative’ (*Političko rješenje za Kosovo nema alternative*), ‘There is no alternative to peace and stability in Montenegro’ (*Mir i stabilnost u Crnoj Gori nemaju alternative*); ‘The political solution to the crisis in FRY does not have an alternative’ (*Političko rješenje krize u SRJ nema alternative*).
- Use of infinitives instead of imperatives in headlines (*zaustaviti bombardovanje* instead of *zaustavite bombardovanje*) was noticed in *Pobjeda*, but not in *Politika*. Using infinitives had an effect of softening the power of imperatives.
- Nominalization, generality level and metaphors. Nominalization and generality level will be addressed below, while metaphors will be analyzed in Chapters 7-9.

### 5.3.3.1 Nominalization

Nominalization is a ‘state/process of the frequent occurrence of nominal means in stead of verbal ones in the utterances of natural languages’ (Radovanović 2001: 42). Nominalizations appear more in functional styles/registers of languages, as for example political, legal, administrative, journalistic, and scientific, and they are ‘potentially *static, non personal, anonymous, abstract, generalized, objectless, tenseness*, etc.’ (Radovanović 2001: 45, emphasis in the original) and are motivated by extra linguistic reasons.<sup>76</sup> One of those extra linguistic reasons, as in the case of political media language, is the attempt to make a message less accessible for readers. In media language this can be achieved through the use of nominalization if nominalization forces the answers to the five key journalistic questions (who, what, when, where and why) into the background (cf. Šare 2004). In the following examples it is difficult to understand how the thing is done (*Politika a*), what is happening with the measures (*Politika b*), who conducted the strikes (*Pobjeda a*) and who is doing

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<sup>76</sup>Radovanović sees nominalization in Serbian as a part of the European context, as nominalization is known to occur in many other languages and happens over time (cf Fairclough 1989). Nominalization is seen as cultures and cognitive styles come into contact rather than as languages come into contact (Radovanović 2006: 211).

what (*Pobjeda b and c*). The nominalizations in these examples make the utterances more abstract.

*Politika:*

- a) *izrazio zalaganje Vatikana za obustavljanje oružanog napada na Jugoslaviju i za okretanje mirnom rešavanju problema* ‘expressed the Vatican’s efforts to stop the armed attack on Yugoslavia and turn towards a peaceful solution of the problems’
- b) *u razmatranju ostvarivanja svih propisanih mera i aktivnosti konstatovano je* ‘in considering the fulfilment of all the prescribed measures and activities it was established that’
- c) *upoznao predsednika sa zalaganjima njegove partije za obustavljanje NATO agresije.* ‘informed the president about the efforts of his party to stop the NATO aggression’

*Pobjeda:*

- a) *izvršeni su udari po vojnim objektima* ‘the strikes on military objects were executed’
- b) *Istakao je da je njegova mirovna misija i zalaganje za povratak mira u Jugoslaviji na liniji ukupnih napora Rusije da doprinese hitnom obustavljanju NATO udara na našu zemlju, obnavljanju pregovaračkog procesa o Kosovu i povratku raseljenih lica u svoje domove.* ‘He highlighted that his peace mission and efforts in returning peace to Yugoslavia were in line with collective efforts by Russia to contribute to an immediate cessation of NATO strikes on our country, re-establishing the negotiating process about Kosovo and the return of displaced persons into their homes.’
- c) *Izvršena je razmjena mišljenja o aktuelnim kretanjima u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji i obostrano konstatovano da političko rješenje za Kosovo nema alternativu, kao i da treba učiniti dodatne napore za obnovu diplomatskih pregovora, što je preduslov za obustavljanje sukoba i povratak mira.* ‘An exchange of opinions was done about the actual movements in Montenegro and Yugoslavia and it was concluded by both sides that the political solution for Kosovo does not have an alternative, and that additional efforts should be made to re-establish diplomatic negotiations, which is the precondition for a cessation of the conflict and the return of peace.’

Both *Pobjeda* and *Politika* make extensive use of nominalizations. In addition to making utterances more abstract, nominalization turns processes and characteristics into objects and objects are seemingly easier to handle by speakers than processes and characteristics. Another important point is that nominalization produces forms that are taken-for-granted and ‘unarguable’. That nominalization is one of the key sources of such ‘unarguability’ is ‘widely observed in the literature’ (White 1999: Chapter 7). For example: ‘exchanging opinions’ (*razmjena mišljenja*) and ‘making efforts’ (*zalaganje*) from the examples above and below, are taken for granted and are

‘unarguable’ as the focus is transferred onto the verbs ‘execute’ (*izvršiti*) and ‘express’ (*izraziti*).

*Izvršena je razmjena mišljenja* vs. *razmijenili su mišljenja* ‘the exchange of opinion was done vs. they exchanged opinions’

*Izrazio zalaganje* vs. *založio se* ‘expressed efforts vs. [verb form of ‘efforts’]’

Nominalization also causes changes in the surrounding grammatical structures, for example, decomposition of the predicate, use of prepositional nominal case constructions instead of adjectives and adverbs, and stringing of genitives.<sup>77</sup>

### 5.3.3.2 Categorization levels

As explained in Chapter 3, concepts belonging to the basic level of categorization are the most accessible ones as they are perceptually and conceptually more salient for the majority of the people, while the other two levels, superordinate and subordinate, are reserved for specific contexts and specific use of language. One of the characteristics of bureaucratic language is categorizations on a superordinate level, which makes the text more abstract and possibly more difficult to understand. The corpus contains extensive use of concepts from this superordinate level of categorization (which is also achieved through nominalization):

*Pobjeda:*

a) *Kao rezultat ove inicijative uskoro bi moglo doći do zaustavljanja nasilja u ovoj zemlji, do aktualiziranja političkog procesa za rješavanje kosovskog problema i do stvaranja pretpostavki da se Jugoslavija demokratizuje i uključi u međunarodno okruženje.* ‘As a result of this initiative it could soon come to a cessation of assaults in this country, to the actualization of the political process for solving the Kosovo problem and to making preconditions for Yugoslavia to become democratic and join the international surroundings.’

b) *Konstruktivna saradnja/pristup/pozicija* ‘the constructive cooperation/approach/position’

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<sup>77</sup> Decomposition of the predicate happens when we use verbs with general meanings and verbal nouns instead of the corresponding full-meaning verb as in *vršiti uticaj* (‘exert influence’) instead of *uticati* (‘influence’). By using the noun one doesn’t state the agent or patient. Radovanović (2004: 216) notes that ‘decomposition of verbal, noun, adjective and adverbial lexemes – is an actual tendency in Serbian, especially in political, media, etc. functional style. By using decomposition one extracts the general, inherent characteristic of the denoted concept.’ Another effect is giving the ‘implication of institutional responsibility to the decomposed predicate’. For example: *preticati* ‘to overtake’, *plaćati* ‘pay’ *analizirati* ‘to analyze’ – *vršiti preticanje/plaćanje, analizu* ‘to do overtaking, paying, analyzing’ ‘Decomposed predicates are more economic because we don’t need to give information about the agent and patient, but it implies that the action is being done by some institution empowered by the society to do so.’ Examples of the use of prepositional nominal case constructions instead of adjectives and adverbs are *izuzetno značajno* ‘extremely important’ becomes *od izuzetnog značaja* ‘of extreme importance’; *veoma bezbjedan* ‘very safe’ – *na visokom stepenu bezbjednosti*, ‘on a high level of safety’; *potpuno* ‘fully’ – *u potpunosti* ‘in fullness’. A good example for the stringing of genitives is found in Pobjeda: *Doprinosi očuvanju konstruktivne atmosfere u traženju kvalitetnih rješenja u našem okruženju*.



### *Politika:*

a) *Ostvaruje se visok stepen povezanosti i usklađivanja aktivnosti, kojima se rešavaju pitanja od vitalnog interesa za odbranu zemlje, život i rad građana. 'A high level of connection and adjustments of activities is being achieved, with which questions of vital importance for defending the country, life and the work of the citizens are solved.'*

b) *Konstatovano je da su sve institucije i organi uspešno stavljeni u funkciju odbrane zemlje i da je ispoljena visoka efikasnost u pogledu delovanja u uslovima ratnog stanja. 'It is established that all institutions and organs are successfully put into the function of defense of the country and that high efficiency is expressed in connection with the acting in conditions of the state of war.'*

'Actualization of political processes' (*aktualiziranje političkih procesa*), or 'making assumptions' (*stvaranje pretpostavki*), 'questions of vital interest' (*pitavanja od vitalnog interesa*), 'put in the function of country defense' (*stavljeni u funkciju odbrane zemlje*), 'high efficacy with regard to acting' (*visoka efikasnost u pogledu delovanja*), etc. are concepts which are difficult to relate to, as they are abstract and fail to specify what these 'processes, questions and/or actions' consist of.

Not only the use of a superordinate level of categorization can blur meaning; explicit categorization can do the same. In political language explicitness often means redundancy, i.e. it can be connected with wordiness. One example of wordiness would be phrases with two or more elements. In political language, the use of frequent phrases with two elements, or 'two-part speech forms', gives the impression of fullness and completeness. The implication of having to read more text can give a feeling of the content being more important. The repetition of certain elements can have a rhythm which produces an almost a hypnotic effect. Wordiness requires a lot of effort on the part of the reader; it tires them and makes the text difficult to understand (cf. Klikovac 1998).

Wordiness is a characteristic noticed in the articles analyzed both in *Pobjeda* and *Politika*. In *Pobjeda* 'two-part speech forms' are more frequent, whereas in *Politika* phrases that consist of three or more elements are more common:

### *Pobjeda:*

a) *sve partije i sve političke subjekte* 'all parties and all political subjects'

b) *istorijskom zrelošću i razumom današnjih generacija* 'with the historic maturity and wisdom of today's generations'

c) *nema mjesta strahu i uznemirenost* 'there is no place for fear and uneasiness'

d) *afirmacija politike razuma i mir*. 'the affirmation of the politics of wisdom and peace'

*e) veoma organizovano i veoma efikasno* 'very organized and very efficient'

### *Politika*

*a) izvršavaju svoje zadatke efikasno, odgovorno i visokoprofesionalno* 'they do their tasks efficiently, responsibly and highly professionally'

*b) koje se bore za slobodu, nezavisnost i ravnopravnost suverenih zemalja* 'who are fighting for freedom, independence and equality of sovereign countries'

*c) čvrsto jedinstvo, visoka patriotska svest i odlučnost da se istraje u pravednoj borbi* 'tight unity, high patriotic sense and decisiveness to endure in the just fight'

*d) i svoje pravo na suverenitet, teritorijalni integritet i nacionalno dostojanstvo* 'and its right to sovereignty, integrity and national pride'

Explicitness happens also when concepts from both higher and lower levels of categorization are mentioned at the same time. The following example from *Politika* is used to evoke negative feelings towards the 'enemy', while in *Pobjeda* it is used to elicit positive feelings towards Montenegro.

### *Politika:*

*a) Uprkos udarima NATO pakta po civilnim infrastrukturnim, privrednim i javnim objektima, među kojima su i bolnice, mostovi, dečija obdaništa, škole, fabrike, nastavlja se redovno odvijanje svakodnevnih aktivnosti.* 'In spite of strikes by the NATO pact on the civilian infrastructure, economic and public objects among which there are hospitals, bridges, kindergartens, schools, factories, regular everyday activities are being carried out.'

*b) Noćasnje bombardovanje izbeglica kod Suve Reke, koji su se vraćali u svoje domove posle prestanka opasnosti od terora tzv. OVK u kojem je poginulo najmanje 58 građana, pretežno žena i dece Albanaca, a na desetine teško ranjeno, predstavlja još jedan u nizu zločina.* 'Tonight's bombing of refugees near Suva Reka, who were returning to their homes after the cessation of danger of terror of the so called KLA in which at least 58 citizens, mostly Albanian women and children were killed and tens of them heavily wounded, represents another in chain of crimes.'

*c) ubistva civila kakva su počinjena u Varvarinu i Surdulici i drugi teški zločini počinjeni protiv mira i čovečnosti.* 'the killing of the civilians that was done in Varvarin and Surdulica and other heavy crimes done against peace and humanity'

### *Pobjeda:*

*a) Odlučni smo da sačuvamo Crnu Goru, njenu prirodu, biološku i privrednu supstancu, i da na taj način doprinesemo vraćanju mira na prostore cijele Jugoslavije.* 'We are determined to preserve Montenegro, its nature, biological and economic substance and in that way to contribute to return peace to the territory of the whole Yugoslavia.'

*b) Istakao je da je Crna Gora čvrsto i trajno opredijeljena za razvoj demokratije, ekonomski prosperitet, izgradnju multietničkog, otvorenog društva i uključivanja u razvijene evropske integracije, što je jedina perspektiva za opstanak i budućnost Jugoslavije kao i razvoj regiona.*

‘He highlighted that Montenegro is tightly and permanently devoted to the development of democracy, economic prosperity, the building of a multiethnic, open society and the connection to developed European integration, which is the only perspective for survival and future of Yugoslavia as well as for the development of the region.’

Using explicit categorization, according to Klikovac, can be positive when we want to avoid repetition (*raketni projektil umesto raketa* ‘rocket projectile instead of a rocket’) or negative when it produces the ‘overflow of words which can lead the reader to think that there is something special about the concept in question’, as in the above examples.<sup>78</sup>

### 5.4 Summary

Two orders of discourse were identified in this chapter: the political order of discourse and the media order of discourse. This division was shown to be artificial and maintained only for analytical purposes as these orders of discourse merge in the corpus. Because of the merge, the corpus is situated in a *political media order of discourse*. The social language that appears within this mixed order of discourse was described and analyzed. The patterns of lexico-grammatical devices which are associated with a given social practice, activity, or identity, encourage people to construct particular situated meanings, i.e., use of particular social language encourages them to construct context in given ways. For example, political discourses in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* use a social language with an abundance of markers of persuasion and legitimization which are further connected to particular political issues like joining a military union (with Russia/Belorussia) or not. The reasons for the use of particular social languages vary from situation to situation, depending on the context. In politics as well as in conflict situations, the political power that manages to present its construction of reality as the correct and truthful one gains the advantage. In order to achieve that, alternative versions of events and actions must be backgrounded.

A continuity of the social language used in the corpus (called the political language of a multi-party system) with the previous period (called the political language of a one-party system) was shown. This continuity is seen both in the binary oppositions present as well as in the lexico-grammatical resources used. Both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* divided their constructions of events into clear cut binaries, differing only in their

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<sup>78</sup>Examples from Klikovac (2000) include: ‘When there is question about’, *Kada je reč*, ‘When it is about’ *Kada se radi*, ‘The thing in question is’ *U pitanju je*.

participants. In *Politika*, we have a continuation of the old dichotomies between good, socialist East and bad, corrupt West, while in *Pobjeda* the dichotomy is between the democratic Montenegro and autocratic Milošević. These divisions are supported by the extensive use of linguistic and semiotic features like forms of grading, evasion, solidarity or exclusion. The salient linguistic features observed in the corpus are frequent in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, and include the use of indefinite pronouns, impersonal constructions, modal verbs, passive voice, euphemisms, etc. Each newspaper shows a tendency to prefer some of these features over others, but more research is needed to categorize these as stable differences within a media political social language.

Now that the political and media contexts, the political and media orders of discourse, and the political media social language have addressed in order to cast a wide-angle light on the subject of the study, the next step is to direct the spotlights towards the detail of visual and verbal analysis of the chosen texts.

## **PART III**

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Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9

Analysis: text in context



## 6.0 Visual framing of identities and relations

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The chapter shifts the focus from the description and analysis of salient characteristics of political language to the description and analysis of semiotic resources characteristic in the media language used in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. Newspapers in general have a variety of ways of presenting events or issues that they consider newsworthy. As mentioned above, whether an article is presented on the front page with screamer (i.e. very large) headlines and a large photograph, or, for example, in the lower left corner on page four makes a difference. What kind of language and what genre the journalists use while reporting events also makes a difference. These semiotic resources which are characteristically used by newspapers in order to contextualize events, and by doing so evaluate the events, shall be called newspaper framings.<sup>79</sup> For the purpose of analysis, this study divides newspaper framings into verbal, visual and genre framings although it should again be born in mind that these framings overlap. Indeed this inability to entirely separate the framings supports the argument of this study: it is the combination and interaction of the linguistic and semiotic resources, and not simply the addition of separate linguistic/semiotic resources, that contribute to meaning making. Thus, in the analysis of headlines in Section 6.2, both their visual and textual characteristics will be addressed. Verbal framing will be addressed in detail in Chapters 7-9. Visual framing consists of layout, photographs, font types, size of headlines, color etc. which all have the potential to contribute to meaning making. Visual framing will be addressed in the first part of

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<sup>79</sup>Framing is a concept that is used by various authors in a variety of contexts. In this study framing is used in two different ways: framing as in constraining, as used here, and framing as in framing of articles in newspapers with lines, boxes, shades etc. see 6.1. These should not be confused with the notion of frame as the representation of an area of experience, in a particular culture with all the necessary connections and cross references, as discussed in detail in (Werth 1999: 33).

this chapter through the analysis of front pages as privileged space and headlines as privileged text. Their privileged position comes from their salience. Photographs will be given special attention both on the representational, interpersonal and compositional levels. That means that the position of the represented participants on the photographs and the relation of these represented participants to the viewers will be described and analyzed.

Another choice that journalists can make is the choice of media genres they have at their disposal to frame a certain issue or event. The difference between a report and an interview may influence readers' perception of a text. Therefore, in the final section of this chapter, the media genres used in the corpus will be described and their function analyzed in connection to the construction of the identities of the two political leaders, and thus, by analogy, the identities of Serbia and Montenegro.

This and the following chapters demonstrate that verbal, visual and genre framings all contribute to the explicit or implicit evaluation of events, participants, actions and relations. Every text is positioned for its readership through explicit or implicit evaluations. By building evaluative positioning, the newspapers create a discourse model of social and moral order that is understood as natural, correct and unquestionable. The question of evaluation is tightly connected to issues of subjectivity and objectivity in media reporting (see Chapter 1). One of the tasks of this chapter is thus to point to the explicit and implicit evaluative potential of visual and genre framings.

### **6.1 Front page – privileged space**

There are three main aims of this section: (i) to show and discuss the importance of first pages; (ii) to describe the front page layouts of *Politika* and *Pobjeda* and point at possible connections between them and different ideologies and (iii) to highlight the evaluative potential of the placement of elements on first pages.

The reader's first contact with a newspaper on a particular day starts by looking at its first page. What happens next depends on a variety of factors. One can decide to either buy or not buy the newspapers. One buys the newspaper for different reasons which range from acting out of habit to being attracted by the newspapers' first pages. These particular scenarios are radically changed in times of crisis, for example, during the analyzed period of NATO bombing. I would argue that in times of crisis, the need for information overrides the attraction function of the newspapers. Newspapers are



then bought or read no matter what the front page looks like. Nevertheless, the way information is structured on the front page influences the understanding of newspapers' version of events.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1998: 188) front pages are 'complex signs, which invite an initial reading as one sign' and they are often compared to political posters because of their powerful influence on the process of meaning making in a society. Front pages are multimodal because they consist of different semiotic resources: verbal text, photographs, colors, layout, font types, font sizes etc. The reading path of front pages is expected to be linear, to move from left to right as when reading texts<sup>80</sup>, but that is not necessarily the case. It seems instead that the preferred reading path followed by the majority of readers is to scan front pages, look at the most salient elements, usually images, read the screamer headlines, and then decide if and what they are going to read. Rather than scanning front pages the same way a text is read, therefore, the reading path very often moves back and forth. This happens very quickly, and readers are not always aware of the process. Both the structure of pages and the cultural background of readers have an influence on the reading path (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). This knowledge about readers' reading paths can help newspapers position different elements on the front page and, by doing so, evaluate their importance.

*Politika* and *Pobjeda* are sold in newspaper stands where they are exposed folded in two. Only the upper part of the front page is visible and sometimes even that part is partially covered by other newspapers. In this case, it could be argued, the function of attracting attention is achieved solely by the newspapers' names and the readers' habit of buying *Politika* or *Pobjeda* rather than by any particular day's events.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the most important public events are presented on the front pages, structured and related to each other for the readers according to the newspaper's priority. Since the newspapers' interest is involved in this representation, and the newspapers' interest is tightly connected to the ruling governments' interests, as will be shown later, the front pages are highly ideological (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 1996).

Accordingly, front pages are important because they attract readers' attention and they structure the events for the readers on any particular day following a certain ideology.

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<sup>80</sup>This is, of course, culture specific. In cultures in which writing is done from right to left or vertically, the reading path follows that pattern.

It is important not to forget certain technical constraints and newspaper conventions that influence the way front pages look. These constraints are connected to the type of equipment available and thus the possibilities available for producing different layouts (for example, color photographs, combination of horizontal and vertical columns etc.). On the other hand, consistency in front page layout is of utmost importance as the newspapers are making and keeping up their own image through first pages.

How were the front pages of *Pobjeda* and *Politika* structured during the period of NATO bombing? The answer to this question involves an understanding of the relationship of different elements on the first page. The relationship between photographs, verbal text, boxes etc. is of an interactive kind, not merely the sum of the meanings of its parts. In order to structure the analysis of front page layouts, three signifying systems will be analyzed, following Kress and van Leeuwen (1996): *information value*, *salience* and *framing* (this methodology was explained in detail in Chapter 3). In the following section, some general characteristics of the front pages of *Pobjeda* and *Politika* will be outlined. After that, the placement of the analyzed elements on the front pages will be addressed using the aforementioned methodology.

### 6.1.1 Front pages in *Pobjeda* and *Politika*

The recognizable, conventional global structures of the front pages of both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were stable during the whole period of NATO bombing. Each newspaper followed its own patterns when combining verbal and visual resources (see DVD and Figure 6.1). In *Politika* front pages were dominated by verbal texts with a few, on average 1,5 black and white photographs per issue. This covered, on average, approx. 8% of the front pages with photographs (see Table 6.2). The front pages of *Pobjeda* were less dominated by verbal text over photographs than those in *Politika*. On average *Pobjeda* printed three photographs per issue, covering on average 16.5% of the front pages. Black and white photographs were used in both newspapers, but only *Pobjeda* used cut-out photographs on four occasions.<sup>81</sup> An overlapping of headlines and photographs was found in some issues of *Pobjeda* (on 12 front pages), but not in *Politika*. These differences highlight *Pobjeda's* tendency to integrate verbal and visual resources more than *Politika*. The main differences in front page layouts between *Pobjeda's* and *Politika's* front page are summarized in Table 6.1.

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<sup>81</sup>Cut-out photographs are photographs on which a person is removed from the original photograph and put into a one-colored background.

<i>POLITIKA</i>	<i>POBJEDA</i>
Mostly vertical division of the page (4 issues have horizontal division of the page)	Mostly horizontal division of the page (31 issues have either vertical or mixed division of the page)
Fewer photographs than in <i>Pobjeda</i> - 92 photographs in 60 issues, on average 1,5 per issue. See Table 6.2.	More photographs than in <i>Politika</i> - 245 in 79 issues on average 3 per issue. See Table 6.2.
Smaller ratio photographs/text than in <i>Pobjeda</i> - on average approx. 8% of front pages are covered with photographs	Ratio photographs/text is larger than in <i>Politika</i> - on average approx. 16,5% of front pages covered by photographs
Black and white photographs	Black and white photographs (cut-out photographs)
Black font	The name of the newspaper in red colour, some headlines in white, otherwise black font
Articles are separated by thin lines or empty space	Articles clearly segregated and separated from each other with thick lines and boxes filled with different shades of gray and black
No screamer headlines	Screamer headlines Headlines overlap with photographs

Table 6.1: Characteristics of the layout of *Politika* and *Pobjeda* - period from 25 March to June 11, 1999 = 79 issues

Period: 25th of March – 11th of June 1999		
Number of photographs per issue	<i>Politika</i> Number of issues	<i>Pobjeda</i> Number of issues
0	19	0
1	36	1
2	19	28
3	3	20
4	1	22
5	1	8

Table 6.2: Number of photographs on the front pages of *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

The overall impression is that *Pobjeda* packaged information in ‘strongly framed, individualized bite-size morsels’ (van Leeuwen 2005: 219) thus presenting the information to the readers in portions. As the information is presented in different types of frames, it is presented in a hierarchy and thus some chunks of information seem more important than others. This can also give the impression that a wider range of voices is represented on the first page. On the other hand, *Politika* presents all the information pieces as belonging to the same order; each could be equally important. The impression of having one uniform – and thus unified – voice on the front page, could be deduced from this type of layout. This observation will be further explored later in this chapter.

### 6.1.2 Front page placement of articles and photographs

The focus will now shift from the general layout of front pages to the front page presence of Milošević and Đukanović and to the placement of the analyzed articles and photographs.

Photography accompanies the majority of the articles analyzed in this study. Milošević’s photograph appeared on 45 front pages (58% of all front pages), with 52 photos as some issues had several photographs, Đukanović’s appeared in 36 issues (46% of all first pages). Other Yugoslav government officials were rarely shown alone on the front pages of *Politika*. Milan Milutinović, the president of Serbia at the time, was shown on four front pages, while Army General, Dragoljub Ojdanić, the head of the Supreme Command HQ, was shown on two front pages.

In the case of *Pobjeda* the situation is different. Montenegro’s Prime Minister Filip Vujanović appeared in 15 issues (19%) and the President of the Montenegrin Assembly Svetozar Marović in 11 issues (14%) while Milošević’s photo appeared in three issues.

Clearly *Politika* gives space on its front pages almost exclusively to Milošević, while *Pobjeda* ‘allows’ two other politicians to join Đukanović on the front page arena. This difference in space allocation and presence of the different politicians could be interpreted as the newspapers’ construction of a strong man vs. a team type of leadership. The strong man Milošević did not allow any competition and made decisions alone, whereas Đukanović gave the impression of a leader who was working in a team.

In addition to assigning different amounts of space to the photographs, *Pobjeda* and *Politika* also positioned articles and photographs differently on their front pages. Articles and the photographs of Milošević were positioned mostly (73 %) in the upper left corner, some (8%) in the lower right corner and some (9%) in the middle of the front pages. Thus, in accordance with information value (the placement of elements on the page) the entrenched information was placed in the upper left corner. This finding is also consistent with the Yugoslav journalists' observation that the most important news is placed in the upper left corner.

The analyzed articles and photographs of Đukanović in *Pobjeda* were positioned in the upper left corner (one third of photographs), upper right corner (one third) and in the middle (one third) of the first pages. Unlike *Politika* therefore there is no obviously preferred placement of these articles in *Pobjeda*. If indeed 'the most important news is in upper left corner', the conclusion is that Milošević was more often connected with the most important news in *Politika* than Đukanović is in *Pobjeda*.

Information value, however, is not the only signifying system that structures the layout of a page. Salience, the placement of select elements in the foreground or in the background, the relative size of the elements on the page etc., also plays an important role in meaning making. In 6.1.1 it was shown that the relative size of photographs of Đukanović and Milošević differed, i.e. that Đukanović was given more space when presented on the front pages. More space means more salience. In addition, the psychological salience of both political figures in their respective republics was very high.

The third signifying system, framing, i.e. connecting or disconnecting the elements of layout, also differed in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. The articles were clearly segregated in *Pobjeda* by the extensive use of frames, boxes, different shades in boxes. This indicates that they should be seen as belonging to different orders. In *Politika* they were separated by thin lines or empty space, suggesting that they are similar in some respects and different in others.

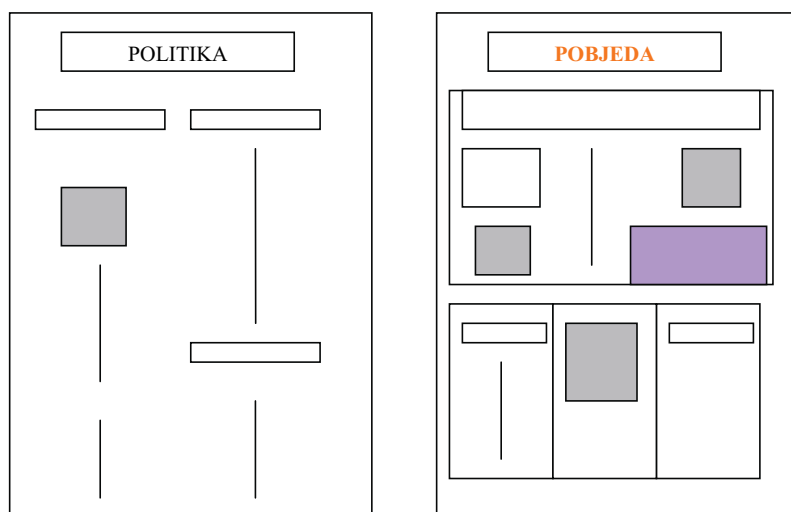


Figure 6.1: Schematized front pages of *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

### 6.1.3 Meaning potentials of different front page layouts

What can these observations about differences in layouts signal? In answering this question the discussions with journalists from the newspapers have proved helpful and are paraphrased here. Journalists from both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* identified the difference in layout as the difference in meaning construction of the respective newspaper's politics which were in turn connected to the actual politics in the country. *Politika* was declared a conservative newspaper that followed a long tradition which was understood in both positive and negative terms by both journalists. The tradition is a value in itself, and a change in layout could have been understood as an attack on tradition. *Pobjeda* wanted to appear more pro-Western<sup>82</sup> and showed it by allowing more 'modern' visual expression. This implies that *Politika* was old-fashioned. Change, the concept that the *Pobjeda* journalist himself introduced, was something he understood as a necessity of modern times.

These observations could be contested, but one thing is obvious, *Pobjeda* showed a tendency to resemble tabloids with screamer headlines, more and larger photographs and clear framing in its layout, while *Politika* did not. Layout was one of the ways in which newspapers signalled their own political and ideological positioning.

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<sup>82</sup>Whatever they considered to be pro-Western, as the concept is a broad one.

These differences could be understood as *Politika*'s adherence to tradition and a way of positioning itself as stable in a sea of postmodern instability, whereas *Pobjeda* showed more openness to change. Openness to change can be further connected to democracy, while reluctance to change to the old regime. These statements are heard in everyday discourse as well, but they are difficult to substantiate. The events after the NATO bombing and after Milošević's fall in 2000 showed that a change in the newspapers' layout signified change in their politics and the country's politics. Both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* changed their newspaper concepts then, including their first pages, in a way which could be called a 'visual turn'. These changes were openly discussed in public. For *Politika* it meant more drastic changes:<sup>83</sup> pages with less verbal text, fewer stories, larger color photographs and larger headlines. For *Pobjeda* it meant a shift to color photographs and a new title font.<sup>84</sup>

### **6.2 Paratexts (headlines and captions) – privileged text**

In this section of the chapter, the focus will become more specific: from general visual framing of front pages attention is narrowed to the visual and verbal framing of paratexts (headlines and captions). The visual and verbal framing of headlines and captions will be approached by:

1. Defining paratexts and exploring the functions of headlines and captions
2. Describing and analyzing the headlines and captions in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* with particular emphasis on their interpretative/evaluative potential as investigated through the analysis of their typography (visual framing) and lexico-grammar (verbal framing).

#### **6.2.1 Paratexts**

One of the main differences between newspaper articles and other types of texts is the existence of 'a long series of small texts, that stand 'next to' the real text' in

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<sup>83</sup>Readers made both positive and negative comments on the new image of *Politika*. One example of the more numerous negative comments is that : '...Those changes [of layout] have disappointed the loyal readers, and do not attract young readers who reject the tabloid style' (*Politika* 2.2.06, page 12, *Medu nama* – a letter from reader S.B. Furundžić). Another example of readers' reluctance to accept change is that when *Politika* introduced the new font and the new global paratext in 2007 it received so many negative comments that it had to launch a whole series of advertisements with the main motto – 'Everything changes' – *Sve se menja* implying that *Politika* changes as well. A similar reaction was met by *Pobjeda* when it changed its font color from red to black. After much pressure from the readership, *Pobjeda* had to change it back to the red font.

<sup>84</sup>In 2007 *Politika* also changed its title and body font. These changes are probably due to changes in social, cultural and ideological factors like the newspapers' new owners, new journalists, influence from the western style newspapers, competition from tabloid newspapers etc., but this topic lies outside this study.

newspapers. Such small texts are called paratexts and they are shown to ‘anticipate and influence the reception of the actual text’.<sup>85</sup> Paratexts are perceived as ‘an autonomous micro system that functions as a threshold into the main text’ (Frandsen 1991: 82). I agree with Frandsen that paratext can function as a threshold into the body text, but the importance that paratexts have on their own should be also stressed. As autonomous micro systems, they produce their own dynamics and sometimes function as a metonym for the whole story, as readers often read only the paratexts. Accordingly, paratexts can stand for the whole story even though they are often telling another story from the one in the body text.

### 6.2.1.1 Headlines

According to this definition, headlines are a type of paratexts. The importance of headlines in newspapers, as ‘privileged text’ has been stressed by several authors (Fairclough 1995b; Frandsen 1991; Katnić-Bakaršić 2001; Kostadinov 2004; Perović 2004; Todorović 1998).<sup>86</sup> The different types of headlines used in Yugoslav journalism are: the *nadnaslov* (‘general headline’), *naslov* (‘main headline’), and *podnaslov* (‘headline under the main headline’ or ‘lead’). According to Todorović (1998), *nadnaslov* situates the news in its wider context, *naslov* says something about the essence of the article, and *podnaslov* gives a short digest of the text to come. *Naslov*, being the most prominent of the three, has a double function: it is supposed to inform and attract the reader. Kostadinov (2004) divides *naslov* in three groups: classical, literary and ‘kilometres long’ *naslov*. Classical headlines are usually answers to the question what happened, literary headlines resemble aphorisms and are not often used in newspapers<sup>87</sup> and long *naslov* are tightly connected with the *nadnaslov*, tell us ‘everything’ about the news and are followed by very short body texts.

Although these definitions do not always show the real situation in media praxis, for example, *podnaslov* does not always give a short digest of the body text, journalists also point to the relevance of this section of paratexts. The importance of *naslov* is also acknowledged in practice, since some journalists/editors specialize in giving attractive headlines (Frandsen 1991: 86; Todorović 1998: 91, Kostadinov 2004: 66).

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<sup>85</sup>Such texts include author’s name, headline, dedications, epigraphs, introductions, notes, texts on the book covers etc. The paratexts that will be analyzed in this study are headlines and captions.

<sup>86</sup>For a short overview of works on headlines in Serbian/Montenegrin newspapers see Panjkov (2006).

<sup>87</sup>Kostadinov gives examples from the weekly NIN: ‘Dying by instalments’ *Umiranje na rate*, ‘Square of the vicious circle’ *Kvadratura začaranog kruga*.



As noted earlier, during the NATO bombing, editors-in-chief were the ones responsible for giving headlines to the articles.

The above presented definitions do not always show the real situation in the media praxis, for example *podnaslov* does not always give a short digest of the body text. Nevertheless, the self definitions by journalists are important as the comparing point in the analysis.

### 6.2.1.2 Headlines vs. nuclei

*Nadnaslov*, *naslov* and *podnaslov* as a whole are referred to in Yugoslav journalistic literature as ‘the headline (introductory) block of the news’, (*naslovni blok vijesti*). In several journalistic textbooks (Slavković 1973; Todorović 1998), *naslovni blok vijesti* is defined as being a resumé of the body text of the news and thus the most central information. A non-resumé function of the paratexts is mentioned in other literature and is defined as transforming and adding information which does not exist in the body text (Frandsen 1991: 91). As will be shown later, the paratexts in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* do not simply summarize the body texts. Instead, they take out what the editors-in-chief consider to be important sentences from the body text and foreground them as salient. These points are later further specified in the body text. Because of that and for the purpose of this analysis *naslovni blok vijesti* will be referred to as a nucleus. The term nucleus is borrowed from White (1999). In his argument the nucleus is ‘not performing a summarizing role but rather sets out a selective synopsis of the activity sequence at issue’ (White 1999: 188) and as such fits the understanding of *naslovni blok vijesti* in this study.<sup>88</sup>

### 6.2.1.3 Captions

Another type of ‘small texts’ that is relevant to the material in this study are captions. Captions, the texts under the photographs, have a similar function to headlines. They give additional information, contextualize the photographs and attract readers to the text (Todorović 1998). Captions under photographs are usually read after one looks at the photograph. According to Todorović (2002) that is the reason why, in modern journalism, descriptive captions have given way to short informative texts. The captions under the analyzed photographs in this study follow mainly the ‘older’ system of identifying the main characters on the photographs.

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<sup>88</sup>White introduces the terms nucleus and satellites – satellites being the explanations in the body text of the synopsis in the nucleus.

### 6.3 Paratext functions

Following Frandsen (1991), paratexts can have two main functions: meta-communicative and interpretative functions. The meta-communicative function, refers to paratexts role in the reception of the text, i.e. it is related to the readers' reactions and will not be addressed in greater detail here. The interpretative function, on the other hand, is identified during the production process of newspaper articles. Journalists can also evaluate the articles by transformation, addition or reduction of paratexts. To this list I would add the selection of paratexts by journalists and/or editors-in-chief. In doing this, journalists evaluate different events, participants, relations, actions and thus position the newspapers in relation to the audience.<sup>89</sup>

Paratexts differ from the body texts of newspaper articles typographically, textually and verbally. Typographically paratexts differ in their placement on the page in relation to the body text, their font type, size and color. Textually, paratexts have to follow certain conditions that are valid for all texts and others that are valid for paratexts. For example, paratexts do not need to consist of full sentences. Verbally, a tendency to use intensifying semiotic resources of, for example, quality (*fascists, evil*) or measure (*the most responsible, the worst*) contributes to the evaluative power of the nucleus and captions. In the following section, the paratexts in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* will first be divided into global and local examples, and then local paratexts will be analyzed according to their typography, their textuality and their evaluative potential.

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<sup>89</sup>These two functions are found in other authors as well. (Katnić-Bakaršić 2001) describes headlines as one of the stronger positions of any text. She divides the functions of headlines in the following way: a) function of attention attraction, b) function of containing key information about the content of the body text and c) stylistic effectiveness. At first sight this division seems somewhat different from Frandsen's. Katnić-Bakaršić is primarily concerned with stylistics, but it can be noted that the first two functions overlap with Frandsen's meta-communicative function, and that stylistic effectiveness may be contained in Frandsen's interpretative function. Stylistic effectiveness is an important function as it conveys evaluation and positions the journalist. According to Katnić-Bakaršić headlines are stylistically effective when they change their referential function into poetic function, since the message attracts attention to itself and no longer to its referent (the text). This is achieved through different stylistic means like: rhetorical questions, exclamations, emotionally marked language, sayings, riddles, transformed sayings etc. Stylistically effective headlines can have an ornamental function or can function as irony, comedy, polemics etc. Stylistic effectiveness is also discussed in the study of headlines in Montenegrin press by Perović (2004). She identified rhetorical means which were used in Montenegrin newspapers: 'alliteration, play on words, quotes and pseudo-quotes' (Perović 2004:11). These means were used as a part of journalistic rhetoric in order to sell the newspapers. This 'selling function' can also be connected with Frandsen's meta-communicative function of attracting attention. Attracting attention leads to a desire to read the article in question, which leads to the purchase of a particular newspaper.

## 6.4 Typography of global and local paratexts in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

Following Frandsen, the paratextual systems in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* can be divided into:

- A constant, stable global paratextual system which consists of the newspaper's name (the paratext of all paratexts) and other elements in the newspaper heading.
- A local paratextual system which is a variable and text-dependent unit. In this study, a local paratextual system consists of a nucleus and a caption in every chosen article.

### 6.4.1 Global paratexts in *Politika*

In addition to its headline printed in a black, recognizable font in the Cyrillic alphabet, which was later named *Politika* font, the newspaper had the following elements as a part of its global paratext:

- The names of its founders (in a box on the right side, next to the name)
- The date of its first issue (January 25, 1904)
- The price (in different currencies)
- General information (this is a daily newspaper; texts sent to the newspaper are not returned; the price of subscription)
- Place, date, year; issue and year
- Phone contact information
- Address



Figure 6.2: Global paratexts in *Politika*

During the NATO bombing (from March 26 until June 10, 1999), *Politika* added another constant paratext, here called sub-global paratext, which was valid for that period:

*Nastavljena zlikovačka agresija snaga NATO predvođenih Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama protiv naše zemlje*

The evil aggression of the NATO forces led by the USA against our country is continuing

This sub-global paratext is highly evaluative: both the adjective ‘evil’ (*zlikovački*) and the noun ‘aggression’ (*agresija*) convey strong negative feelings towards the actual events. The linking of ‘evil aggression’ (*zlikovačka agresija*) to ‘against our country’ (*protiv naše zemlje*) unequivocally positions the newspaper: *Politika* is on the side of ‘our country’ and against NATO. The United States, by being specifically mentioned, is blamed for the situation. As the sub-global paratext is repeated every day during the NATO bombing, it is entrenched as the unchanging position of the newspaper. Referring back to Škiljan’s principle of consensus by which readers *a priori* agree with the message sent by the newspapers, this is thus the expected position of the readership.

### 6.4.2 Global paratexts in *Pobjeda*

*Pobjeda* had a global paratext that consisted of fewer elements than in *Politika*. In addition to the name of the newspapers printed in red colour and a recognizable font in the Cyrillic alphabet, there were the following elements:

1. Weekday, date, year – under the headline on the left side
2. Issue
3. Year
4. Price
5. Place
6. Day and place of the first issue (October 24, 1944 in Nikšić)

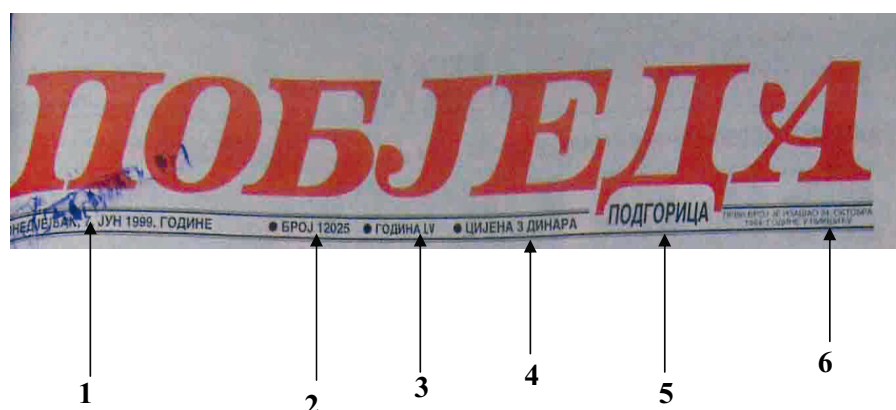


Figure 6.3: Global paratexts in Pobjeda

*Pobjeda* did not introduce any new sub-global paratexts during the NATO-bombing. Since *Politika*'s front page was a gathering of small micro texts with a relatively weak visual coherence introducing a sub-global paratext could have been seen to contribute to tighter visual cohesion of the front page, while *Pobjeda* already appeared more like one microtext with a global visual structure.

The overall importance of the global paratexts on the front pages is seen in their function as a salient reminder of the origin of the information. The brand names of the newspapers were supposed to be the guarantee for their truthfulness and credibility and thereby attract the readership.

### 6.5 Local paratexts

In both newspapers, all three types of headlines (*nadnaslov*, *naslov*, *podnaslov*) were written in a range of font types and font sizes. This is an important observation as it is not only the words that convey the meaning, but also the fonts, their sizes, their bold or italicized emphasis, etc. Newspapers evaluate different topics by using different typography which makes typography a powerful ideological tool as well. The font used by *Politika* since 1904 conveys a strong connection with tradition which is connected with positive values. If something lasts for a long time, it is supposed to be high quality. The font size is also an important symbol of importance. The bigger the font, the more important the subject.

In *Politika*, the *nadnaslov* was larger than the *naslov* in 53% of articles analyzed. In 28% it was the same size and in the rest of the cases, 19%, it was smaller than the

*naslov*. This unusual proportionality of the headlines emerges due to the creation of one common, general *nadnaslov* for the whole page, including the analyzed articles (see Figure 6.4).

The smallest font of the three was used for *podnaslov*, but this was still larger than the font of the body text. The *naslov* and the *podnaslov* were divided from the *nadnaslov* by a thin line, making the *nadnaslov* more salient and the connection between the *naslov* and *podnaslov* tighter. Photographs in *Politika* were embedded in the body text. Visually this helps unite the whole article as a single unit.

In *Pobjeda*, the *nadnaslov* was usually considerably smaller than the *naslov* in all articles analyzed. The *nadnaslov*, was not used for the whole page as in *Politika*. The *naslov* was given extreme salience by the use of screamer headlines in all issues. When it comes to the *podnaslov*, this was as in *Politika*, the smallest of the three headlines. Photographs were embedded within the nucleus (between the *nadnaslov* and *naslov*), putting an emphasis on the nucleus as an entity rather than on the whole article. This style was possibly used because of the fact that *Pobjeda* divides the nucleus and the body text by putting the nucleus on the first page, and the body text later in the newspapers.





Figure 6.4: Examples of paratexts in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

Paratexts written under the photographs both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were written in a different font from the other paratexts. *Pobjeda* uses capital letters in 18 captions, while *Politika* uses it in 7. Systematicity in the use of capital letters was observed in *Pobjeda* where the capital letters were used to differentiate the evaluative part of the caption from the identifying part (see 6.9.5). The reason for *Politika*'s usage of captions can be of a technical nature – to fill out space. The name of the photographer was written in *Politika*,<sup>90</sup> while this was not the case in *Pobjeda*. The reason for that could be the difficult position of journalists/photographers working in *Pobjeda*. They were guarded by the Montenegrin police against the Yugoslav army, and at times their access to taking photos was hampered. Accordingly, some old photographs had to be reused in the form of cut-out photographs.

Each of the analyzed photographs in *Politika* had a caption, whereas in *Pobjeda*, the caption was not present in 11 out of 40 analyzed articles. All 11 photographs without captions show Milo Đukanović. The presupposed salience of Đukanović is a possible reason for the absence of captions.

<sup>90</sup>The caption under the most of the analyzed photographs included: 'photographed by D. Jevremović' (snimio D. Jevremović).

## 6.6 Textuality in the local paratexts

Textuality can be explored by describing the length of headlines and the types of syntactical forms. Both of these factors can play a role in either encouraging or discouraging to continue reading the rest of the article.

### 6.6.1 Headline length

*Politika* and *Pobjeda* followed the French tradition of having long headlines. In long headlines, answers to the five journalist questions (who, what, when, why and how, the five Ws) are usually given and they are therefore not repeated in the body text (Todorović 2002).

Both *Pobjeda* and *Politika* evidenced a tendency to have longer paratexts than is usual in the western press.<sup>91</sup>

NADNASLOV	
<i>Politika</i>	<i>Pobjeda</i>
9 words	11 words
NASLOV	
<i>Politika</i>	<i>Pobjeda</i>
11 words	6 words
PODNASLOV	
<i>Politika</i>	<i>Pobjeda</i>
36 words	62 words <sup>92</sup>

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Table 6.3 : The average length of nuclei in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

The average lengths of *nadnaslov* and *podnaslov* were longer in *Pobjeda*, whereas the average length of *naslov* was longer in *Politika*. Longer headlines can lead to reader fatigue, which in turn can hamper them from continuing to the body texts of the articles. On the other hand, readers who read these newspapers are used to this type of headlines i.e., they are used to this level of cognitive effort in reading newspapers. As there are no empirical studies with evidence of the effects of longer paratexts, I will simply note the difference between *Politika* and *Pobjeda* and between those two

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<sup>91</sup>Van Dijk's analysis shows that the average number of words in the lead (*podnaslov*) is 25 (Perović 2004: 12).

<sup>92</sup>Twelve of 40 articles analyzed (30%) did not have a *podnaslov*.



newspapers and the western press. Both newspapers changed their policies after 2000 and began to use shorter headlines.

### 6.6.2 Noun phrases vs. full sentences

Syntactically *nadnaslov* and *naslov* were expressed either as noun phrases or full sentences, omitting the auxiliary verb 'to be', as is characteristic of the journalistic style. In both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* *podnaslov* were written in full sentences, also without the auxiliary verb 'to be' in the majority of cases.

For example:

*Politika*

Noun phrases:

*Teški zločin protiv naroda SR Jugoslavije* (26/3) 'Heavy crime against the people of FRY'

*Strah od ruskih raketa u evropskim metropolama* (12/4) 'Fear of Russian rockets in European metropolises'

*Fašisti, ubice, kriminalci, teroristi* (24/4) 'Fascists, killers, criminals, terrorists'

Full sentences:

*Građani Jugoslavije jednodušni su u svojoj rešenosti da ni po koju cenu ne dozvole neprijateljima da im okupiraju zemlju* (28/3) 'Citizens of Yugoslavia are united in their decision not to, at any price, let enemies occupy their country'

*Jugoslavija nikada neće pristati da se odrekne svoje slobode* (31/3) 'Yugoslavia will never accept to reject its freedom'

*Ratni zločinci hoće da izazovu ekološku katastrofu* (19/4) 'War criminals want to provoke an ecological catastrophe'

*Pobjeda*

Noun phrases:

*Predsjednik Republike Crne Gore Milo Đukanović na pres konferenciji za strane novinare* (30/3) 'President of the Republic of Montenegro, Milo Đukanović, during press conference for foreign journalists'

*Na poziv predsjedavajućeg Evropske unije* (17/5) 'On invitation of chairman of the EU'

Full sentences:

*Predsjednik republike Milo Đukanović održao juče sastanak sa predsjednikom Skupštine Svetozarom Marovićem.* (28/3) 'President of the Republic of Montenegro, Milo Đukanović, held a meeting yesterday with president of the Assembly, Svetozar Marović'

*Patrijarh moskovski i cijele Rusije, Aleksij II pozvao telefonom Mila Đukanovića, predsjednika Republike Crne Gore* (24/4) 'Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Aleksey II made a phone call to Milo Đukanović, president of the Republic of Montenegro'

There was an almost equal ratio of noun phrases and full predication used in *nadnaslov* in both newspapers. When it comes to *naslov*, *Pobjeda* used fewer noun phrases than *Politika* (see Table 6.4).

NADNASLOV	
<i>Politika</i> 24 noun phrases and 22 full sentences	<i>Pobjeda</i> 17 noun phrases and 21 full sentences
NASLOV	
<i>Politika</i> 22 noun phrases, 25 full sentences	<i>Pobjeda</i> 8 noun phrases, 28 full sentences

Table 6.4: Textuality of *nadnaslov* and *naslov* in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

The use of noun phrases or/and ‘unfinished sentences’ is a characteristic of journalistic style, and gives the readers a feeling of process, of something going on. Readers can be given the impression of immediacy, of being in the middle of things and are thus encouraged to read further.

The average length of captions in *Politika* was 8.7 words and in *Pobjeda* 7.3 words. As mentioned above, 27% of all analyzed photographs in *Pobjeda* did not have captions.

Syntactically, captions were nominal/adverbial phrases, and were elliptic, which is a characteristic of journalistic style. As in the headlines, the adverbial phrases give a feeling of a process. Thus Milošević is: ‘in conversation’, ‘on a meeting’ (*u razgovoru, na sastanku*), and Đukanović is ‘yesterday in Cologne’, ‘during yesterday’s meeting’ (*juče u Kelnu, tokom jučerašnjeg susreta*).

After typography and textuality the focus will now turn to the evaluative potential of selecting paratexts and the voices in paratext.

### 6.7 Paratext and voices selection

The choice of paratext is one of the ways of evaluating events, participants and actions. As paratexts often include different voices, these two dimensions will be addressed together. Journalists or editors-in-chief choose which paratexts they want to make salient. Paratexts are sometimes taken directly from the body text, sometimes they are shortened and altered versions from the body text, and sometimes they are not to be found in the body text at all. Paratexts are sometimes introduced by the

journalist, which in this study is referred to as the authorial voice following (Iedema et al. 1994). Other voices which are introduced can be introduced as direct speech, indirect speech or rephrasing. Instead of speech reporting one can talk about discourse representation (Fairclough 1995) in which the primary discourse represents/reports the secondary discourse. The dynamic interrelationship between the two ranges from voices being clearly differentiated to voices being merged. The importance of these relationships is that the way secondary discourse is interpreted is often controlled by the way it is contextualized by primary discourse. This is where the authorial voice with its potential to evaluate comes in. Authorial voice, according to its evaluative potential, can be roughly divided into *reporter voice*, which works up the notion of objectivity or *writer voice* which works up the notion of subjectivity following White (1999). Objectivity and subjectivity follow the language resources used to signal ‘factuality, absence of writer/speaker’ or ‘interpretation, certainty/doubt, presence of author/speaker’ (White 1999). The objectivity/subjectivity dichotomy is very difficult to categorize as it is context dependent. Nevertheless, Appraisal theory gives some clues as to how to detect evaluative linguistic resources, i.e. subjectivity. Linguistic resources which can introduce subjectivity into the text, e.g., measure, affect, intensity, modality and judgement, will be explored in the paratexts in *Pobjeda* and *Politika* (see Table 6.5).

SOME WAYS OF INTRODUCING ‘SUBJECTIVITY’ INTO TEXT:	EXAMPLES
Measure	<i>Malo, mnogo, godinama</i> (little, lot, year by year, etc.)
Affect	<i>Tužan, siguran, radostan</i> (sad, sure, happy, etc)
Intensity	<i>Veoma, donekle</i> (very, up to a certain point, etc.)
Modality	<i>Bi, mora, će, može</i> (would, must, can etc)
Judgement	<i>Neosjećajan, glup, loš</i> (insensitive, stupid, bad, etc.)

Table 6.5: Subjectivity and linguistic resources, adapted by White from Iedema 1994

### 6.7.1 Voices in *naslov*

#### *Politika*

In *Politika*, *naslov* were quotes from important political figures: 24 can be traced to Milošević, three are the voices of the Chinese president, the president of Belorussia, and the special representative from Russia; 19 quote the results from different meetings by unattributable voices. As a rule, the quotes were not explicitly introduced in the *naslov* by quotation marks or dashes and they were not attributed directly to their speakers. This makes it difficult to know who is speaking. Further, the voices merged and produced a ‘common voice’ (Us), connecting the newspaper, the government and including the readers. These quotes were, however, framed by either *nadnaslov*, *podnaslov*, the photo and photo caption, or all of those elements together, thus, signalling whose voice is heard. At a minimum, reading the nucleus and looking at the photo with its caption is necessary in order to know who is speaking. In addition to the interaction among different elements on the page, contextual knowledge plays an important role here.

Examples:

25/3/99

**Nadnaslov:**

*Obraćanje naciji predsednika Republike*

Address to the nation by the president of the Republic

**Naslov:**

*Opredeljeni smo za dve glavne stvari*

We are devoted to two things

(photo of Milošević; caption: *Slobodan Milošević*)

If only the *naslov* is read, it is not possible to find out who the speaker is. But looking at the photo and reading the *nadnaslov*, one can conclude that the speaker is Milošević. This will either encourage readers to turn to the body text, or to simply turn the page.

1/4/99

**Nadnaslov:**

*Najteži oružani napadi posle Drugog svetskog rata*

The heaviest armed attack since WWII

**Naslov:**

*Jugoslavija nastavlja da vodi principijelnu miroljubivu politiku...*

Yugoslavia is continuing to lead principally peaceful politics...

**Podnaslov:**

*Predsednik Republike Slobodan Milošević održao je juče...*

President of the Republic, Slobodan Milošević, yesterday held...

(photo of Milošević presiding a meeting; caption: *Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa najodgovornijim državnim rukovodiocima naše zemlje* 'President Milošević in conversation with the most responsible government leaders of our country')

The common trait of all quotes used in headlines is that they are partial in a sense that the journalist/editor-in-chief chose which part of what is said should be upgraded to the headline position. By selecting parts of the quotes for the headlines, those parts are given salience.

*Pobjeda*

The *naslov* in *Pobjeda* also contained quotes taken from important political figures, in the majority of cases without attribution, i.e. without marking who said what. There were some exceptions which are shown here:

Examples:

18/05/99

**Naslov**

*Đukanović zatražio hitan prekid bombardovanja i promjenu politike prema Balkanu*

Đukanović asked for urgent cessation of bombing and change in the politics towards the Balkans

26/5/99

**Naslov**

*Đukanović se založio za hitan prestanak bombardovanja SRJ*

Đukanović interceded for urgent cessation of bombing of FRY

Milo Đukanović was quoted in 24 issues, nine quotes represented an unattributable common voice: voices of other prominent persons included, the Patriarch Aleksey, Bronebakk, Ana Bonnino, Mary Robinson, Dennis McNamara and Madelyn Albright. Explicit or implicit attributions were usually given in the *nadnaslov*:

Examples:

09/06/99

**Nadnaslov:**

*Redovna konferencija za novinare predsjednika Republike Crne Gore Mila Đukanovića*

Regular press conference of the president of the Republic of Montenegro, Milo Đukanović

**Naslov**

*Tražićemo redefinisiranje odnosa sa Srbijom*

We will ask for a redefinition of the relationship with Serbia

23/05/99

**Nadnaslov:**

*Intervju predsjednika Mila Đukanovića televiziji Crne Gore*

Interview by the president Milo Đukanović to the Montenegrin TV

**Naslov**

*Mir bliži nego ikad*

Peace closer than ever

### 6.7.2 Naslov to body text relations

The journalists/editor-in-chief of *Pobjeda* took more liberty in transforming the quotes in *naslov* than occurred at *Politika*. The headlines more often paraphrased the sentences from the body of the text than was the case in *Politika*. Original quotes are often shortened to fit the more concise nature headlines. The change was occasionally produced through modality shifts, so that a less certain ‘in order to stop the horrors of war’ (*da bi se zaustavile strahote rata*) from the body text becomes the more certain ‘stop horrors of war’ (*zaustavite strahote*) *rata* in the headline (see examples below from 23/4/99 and 15/5/99). This is an example of how modality is used to introduce a different voice, in this case the authorial voice, and to work up the urgency of a story.

Examples:

30/3/99

**Naslov:**

Odmah prekinuti NATO udare i obnoviti pregovore

Immediately stop the NATO strikes and reopen the negotiations

**Quote from the body text**

*I zato ponavljam još jednom, veoma dramatično: neophodno je prekinuti NATO udare i otvoriti prostor za obnovu pregovora (12)*

And because of that I repeat once again, very dramatically, it is indispensable to stop the NATO strikes and open a space for reopening the negotiations

23/4/99

**Naslov:**

Zaustavite strahote rata

To stop the horrors of war

**Quote from the body text:**

*Istaknuto je da je neophodno uložiti maksimum napora kako bi se zaustavile strahote rata, ljudske žrtve i materijalna razaranja, odnosno, kako se ne bi ponovila stradanja koja su ratnim vjehovima ovog vijeka zadesila Crnu Goru. (4)*

It was highlighted that it was necessary to invest maximum effort in order to stop the horrors of war, human sacrifice and material destruction i.e. in order not to repeat the suffering which through the winds of war hit Montenegro during this century.

15/5/99

### **Naslov**

*Ubrzati političko rješenje kosovske krize*

Accelerate a political solution to the Kosovo crisis

### **Quote from the body text:**

*Obostrano je naglašen značaj Rusije u tom procesu i izražena saglasnost da na liniji zaključaka zemalja Grupe 8 treba učiniti dodatne napore da se ubrza procedura oko donošenja rezolucije Savjeta bezbjednosti UN, koja bi utvrdila obaveze svih aktera involviranih u kosovsku i jugoslovensku krizu. (4)*

The importance of Russia in that process was highlighted by both sides and consent was expressed that following the conclusions of the G8 countries, additional efforts should be made in order to accelerate the procedures around the resolutions of the UN Security Council, which would stipulate the obligations of all actors involved in the Kosovo and Yugoslav crisis.

### **6.7.3 Podnaslov**

The *podnaslov* is in a complementary relation with the *nadnaslov* and the *naslov*, as it is meant to be read after them. In neither newspapers did the *podnaslov* summarize the body of the text. Instead, it was a selection of quotes from the body text with some journalistic interference (for example choosing ‘the most important quotes’). This minor intervention on the part of the journalist could have been the result of either short time for writing headlines (war time) or the policy of the newspapers to follow the government and not risk saying something wrong. Or indeed a combination of both reasons could explain the lack of summaries/digests of the body texts.

### **6.7.4 Podnaslov to body text relations**

*Podnaslov* in *Politika* did not however simply consist of random sentences taken from the body of the text. They followed a pattern: the first sentence from the body is always in the *podnaslov*. In 19 articles (out of 51 analyzed) the *podnaslov* consisted only of the first sentence from the body text. Accordingly, although it is not possible to talk about a digest or summary, there is a selective choice of certain points from the body texts which are made salient.

In contrast to *Politika*, *podnaslov* in *Pobjeda* usually did not consist of the first sentence from the body text. In 12 out of 40 articles there is no *podnaslov*. In 19 cases, the direct quotes in the *podnaslov* come from Đukanović. Twice they were explicitly framed with metapragmatic verbs: ‘he said’, ‘he told’ (*rekao je; kazao je*). In other cases the reader can conclude who the speaker is by reading the *nadnaslov*, the *naslov* or looking at the photographs.

### 6.7.5 Captions

The captions accompanying the photographs also follow a pattern: President Milošević is foregrounded in the captions by being placed in the initial position of the sentence as a subject. President Đukanović is similarly foregrounded in the captions by being placed in initial position. There are two exceptions: on June 5 and June 10. Patriarch Pavle (religious leader) and Madelyn Albright (woman and American secretary of state) were given the initial place. It is possible that the importance of religion and an understanding of gender relations, in which a woman is shown respect by being mentioned first, played an important role in giving them priority. The corpus is not large enough to conclude this with certainty.

Captions, both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, serve an identificatory function. They tell the readers who the characters presented on the photographs are. In addition, in *Pobjeda* there are several examples of more explicit evaluative use of captions i.e. an evaluation was given as an introductory part of the caption. Such examples are not present in *Politika*.

<p><u>Jedinstveno</u>: sa jučerašnjeg sastanka u Podgorici, 'Unitedly: from yesterday's meeting in Podgorica'</p> <p><u>ODLUČNOST</u>: Sa jučerašnjeg sastanka najvišeg državnog rukovodstva, 'DECISIVENESS: from yesterday's meeting of the highest government leadership'</p> <p><u>RAZUMNA POLITIKA</u>: CRNOGORSKI PREDSEDNIK ĐUKANOVIĆ I FRANCUSKI PREMIJER ŽOSIM JUČE U PARIZU, 'RATIONAL POLITICS: MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT ĐUKANOVIĆ AND FRENCH PRIME MINISTER JOSIN YESTERDAY IN PARIS'</p> <p><u>JASNI STAVOVI</u>: MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ, 'CLEAR STANDPOINTS: MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ'</p>
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Table 6.6: Captions in *Pobjeda*



The leadership of the country and its leader are evaluated as *united* and *decisive* with *clear* standpoints leading *rational* politics. All these linguistic resources belong to the judgement category. All the judgements in *Pobjeda* are positive towards the government and the president's activities.

### 6.8 Quality and measure in paratexts

In addition to the choice of nucleus, using intensificatory value of quality and high or maximum values of measure give evaluative potential to paratexts. Intensificatory values of 'quality', both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, are realized through lexicogrammatical and semiotic means. The difference in intensity between these two newspapers is evident. In *Politika*, the high intensity of negative evaluation of NATO was expressed linguistically through negative denotations and overwording: 'fascists, killers' (*fašiste, ubice*), giving a negative agency to NATO 'they are killing, destroying, breaking human rights' (*ubijaju, razaraju, krše ljudska prava*), and negative qualifications 'cowardly and insidiously' (*kukavički i podmuklo*). For more examples see Appendix 6, Table 2.

In *Pobjeda* the intensificatory value of quality was lower than in *Politika*. This was achieved by the use of infinitives as imperatives: 'Immediately to stop the strikes' (*Odmah prekinuti udare*)<sup>93</sup>, in stead of 'Immediately stop the strikes' (*Odmah prekinite udare*); the use of modal verbs 'Urgently must stop' (*Hitno mora prestati*) in stead of 'Let it urgently stop' (*Neka hitno prestane*) and denotations of lower emotional power 'bombing, assault' (*bombardovanje, nasilje*) instead of 'agression' (*agresija*). These linguistic means are used as euphemisms, and lower the intensity of quality. On the other hand, it can be claimed that 'urgently' (*hitno*) and 'immediately' (*odmah*) convey urgency and are in that way intensifiers of quality. The additional intensification in *Pobjeda* was achieved by using screamer headlines. For more examples see Appendix 6, Table 2.

High or maximal values of measure were achieved linguistically by the use of superlatives; for example, 'the heaviest', 'the most shameful' (*najteži, najsravniji*) and by the use of adjectives which semantically have a high value of measure; 'heavy', 'highly irresponsible politics', 'exceptionally' (*težak, krajnje neodgovorna politika, izuzetno*). For more examples see Appendix 6, Table 3.

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<sup>93</sup>The difference between these two forms is difficult to transfer to English.

*Politika* made extensive use of superlatives. Superlatives and adjectives which have a high value of measure were used evaluatively, both for pointing out 'Our' positive sides, for example, 'the most responsible leaders' (*najodgovorniji rukovodioci*) or 'strong unity of the people' (*čvrsto jedinstvo naroda*) and 'Their' negative sides, for example, 'the most shameful attack' (*najsramniji napad*) or 'heavy crime' (*teški zločin*). The metaphorical, vertical, hierarchical conceptualization of society is shown in the frequent use of 'the highest' (*najviši*) when denoting officials of the government, for example, 'the highest functionaries in the country' (*najviši funkcioneri u zemlji*).

In *Pobjeda*, superlatives and adjectives with a high value of measure were used, but less frequently than in *Politika*, to evaluate 'Our' positive sides, for example, 'strong requests' (*snažni zahtjevi*), 'intensive contacts' (*intenzivni kontakti*), and 'Their' negative sides, for example, 'the most responsible in the country' (*najodgovorniji u zemlji*)<sup>94</sup> or 'endure in a Saddam-like manner' (*sadamovski izdržati*) referring to Iraq's president Saddam Hussein.

### **6.9 Photography and framing**

The articles in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* followed certain stable visual patterns. Photographs were an integral part of these visual patterns. Just as a journalist tells a story through his writing, a photographer tells the viewers a story through photography. The power of photography lies in readers' understanding of it as an 'unchanging truth' (Kostadinov 2004: 81; Todorović 2002: 114). The question of a truth can be connected to question of modality in photographs. Photographs are often considered true pictures of reality, being in naturalistic coding, i.e., with background detail, colour and depth, elements that are considered signifiers of reality in the naturalistic domain. These give photographs a modality of realism (Baldry and Thibault 2006: 79). This opinion was also expressed in interviews with the journalists, photographer and editor from *Pobjeda*. They said that the photographs were the most important part of the news and that they made the newspaper more credible.

This part of the study will focus on two perspectives: the position of the represented participants on the photographs (representational meta function) and the position of

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<sup>94</sup>A good example of meaning being dependent on context is found in usage of 'the most responsible in the country' (*najodgovorniji u zemlji*). It has a positive connotation in *Politika* as it refers to the politicians who are defending the country and a negative one in *Pobjeda* as it refers to the politicians who placed FRY in a difficult situation of being bombed.

Milošević/Đukanović on the photographs in relation to the viewers (interpersonal meta function). The methodology used here was addressed in Chapter 3. The point made several times already in this study is that visual text adds dimensions of meaning that are not made by verbal texts (for example some characteristics of Milošević and Đukanović as leaders). This means that the visual text is not only an illustration of linguistic text, but that the combination of visual and verbal texts actively makes meaning. The photographs will now be divided into groups according to the motifs that they present.

### 6.9.1 Photography in Politika

Depending on Milošević's position on the photographs it is possible to identify several different types of photographs (see Table 6.8). One group of photographs presents Milošević alone (Figure 6.5). Another group presents Milošević in the center in the photographs with other political figures (Figures 6.6; 6.7). That central position is changed only in two photographs (Figure 6.9) in which Milošević is given a position parallel to the representative of the international community. All the photographs are official photographs, apart from one (Figure 6.8), which could be characterized as a semi-official as it represents Milošević's family. As these changes in the types of photographs are connected to certain political events, the next sections will add more detailed comments.

Figure 6.5	Milošević portrayed alone
Figure 6.6; 6.7	Milošević presiding over meetings, meeting important political figures, posing with his guests
Figure 6.8	April 21, 1999 – Milošević and his family meeting the Russian Patriarch Aleksey
Figure 6.9	June 3 and 4, 1999 – Peace talks – Milošević is not in the center any more – he is positioned in a position parallel to the representatives of the international community

*Table 6.7: Types of photographs according to Milošević's position on them*

#### 6.9.1.1 Position Milošević

##### Milošević – alone

Photographs of Milošević alone accompany three articles: the address given before the bombing started on March 25, the interview Milošević gave to CBS on April 24

and the address given after the bombing stopped on June 11. The photograph from April 24 is identical with the photograph from March 25. The size and the position on the page however are different (See Figure 6.5). The photograph from June 11 comes from the same series as the other two. The photographs are official; Milošević is wearing a suit and tie, he is positioned in front of the flags which symbolize the country. He is looking towards the horizon, in a visionary manner (cf. van Leeuwen 2005). This is an offer of information; nothing is demanded from the viewers except to view. It is presupposed that the viewers agree with the represented ‘truth’.

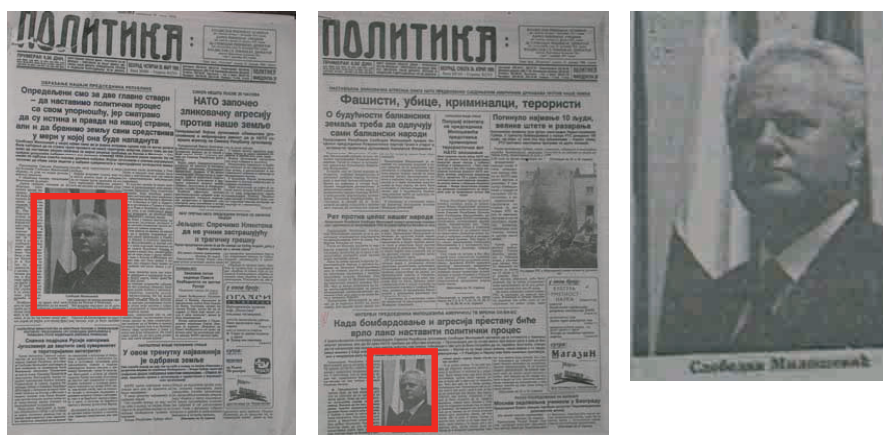


Figure 6.5: Milošević alone, March 25 and April 24

### 6.9.1.2 Milošević - with others

Milošević was, as a rule, presented in a central position on most of the photographs. The central position signals the importance of the person positioned there. The importance is further underlined by the vectors pointing at Milošević formed by other politicians' bodies which are turned to Milošević, as well as their gazes which are pointed at him. The objects on the photograph, e.g. the flowers and ashtrays on the table are arranged symmetrically. The two rows of politicians are also symmetrical; their hands are folded on the table in front of them, signaling agreement of political views. Milošević is given the most prominent position by the newspapers. He is the one presiding over different meetings, he is receiving different guests and he is the only constant on all the photographs. The variables are different guests that he is receiving.

Figure 6.6 is an example of this type of photograph. Milošević's guests are positioned around him; their gazes form vectors that point towards him. Their bodies are turned toward Milošević, and away from the photographer and the viewers. The photograph is taken from a frontal angle – the photographer is almost being a participant of the meeting. The use of a long-shot expresses social distance as non-personal. Since he is presented in the background, Milošević is removed from the viewer, signaling reduced responsibility. Milošević is foregrounded on a few photographs, during meetings with foreign politicians and during the peace talks, signaling increased responsibility. This photograph is offering information about this particular meeting as Milošević's gaze is not engaging with viewers. His gaze is directed somewhere between the two represented politicians on his left side.



Figure 6.6: Example of a photograph with Milošević presiding over a meeting

Figure 6.7 provides an example of a photograph in which Milošević is presented as talking to another important politician. Milošević is presented in a relaxed position, his legs spread apart, his hands casually leaning on his thigh and the chair. The other politician, Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of Democratic League of Kosovo, representing Kosovo, has his hands in his lap; his fingers are intertwined signaling a closed position. Approximately two thirds of the photograph is occupied by Milošević, and the remaining one third by Rugova. There is also a very small amount of space between Rugova and the right side of the photo – giving an impression of him being hemmed in and having less space to move. The background of this meeting is a luxurious room in the *Beli dvor* (White Court).<sup>95</sup> The two politicians are looking at one other, smiling – thus expressing the positive feelings towards each other and about the results from the meeting they have just had. To turn briefly to the political events that preceded the publication of this photograph it should be noted that Rugova was the leader of Kosovo Albanians who led a non-violent resistance to the government. There were rumors that Rugova had been killed by the Yugoslav army/police in Kosovo. In order to dismiss the rumors, the photo was published on the front page on *Politika*, together with a statement signed by both Rugova and Milošević. The naturalistic coding gives the photograph a high degree of realistic modality. Photographs, foregrounding, the signatures, the date and the common statement were used as proof for the reality of the meeting.

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<sup>95</sup>The *Beli dvor* is known for the readers/viewers as a power center. The *Beli dvor* that initially belonged to the Serbian royal family was confiscated after the WWII and used by Josip Broz Tito, and later by Milošević. All important national and international meetings were held there. The *Beli dvor* belongs to the state, but was given to disposition to the heirs of the royal family in 2001.

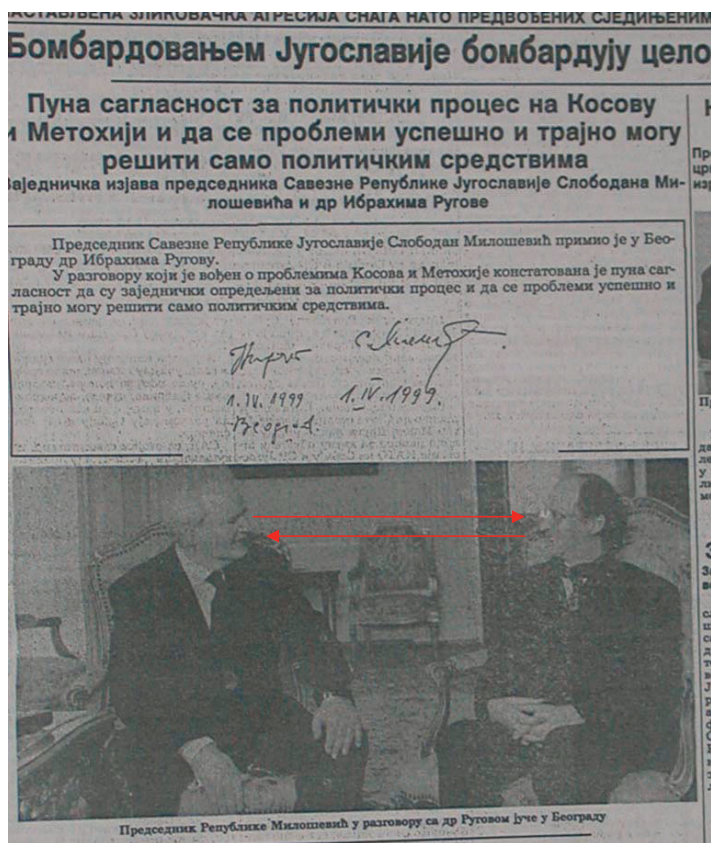


Figure 6.7: Example of Milošević with individual politician, here Rugova

### 6.9.1.3 Milošević - personal sphere

The only semi-personal photograph of Milošević was published on of April 21 in connection with the visit by the Russian Patriarch Aleksey. It is one of the two photographs on the front page that day. On the first photograph Milošević is presented with the Patriarch and other church leaders in an official pose. On the other photograph, Milošević, his wife Mira and his son Marko are presented while meeting with Patriarch Aleksey. The family is salient on this photo as the Patriarch is portrayed from the back – with only his head covering being visible. Milošević, his wife and his son are photographed from the side, the wife is shaking hands with the Patriarch, and the son is waiting for his turn. Marko, Milošević's son is also dressed in a suit, and his hair is cut short. For those aware of Marko's problematic behavior and his dressing style – as most readers would have been - his presence in the photograph and his appropriate dress code is a powerful signal of obedience in times of trouble.



The importance of this meeting is shown both by these photographs and by the verbal text which appeared as an unusual genre: not ‘news’ (*vijest*) as expected on that particular place on the first page, but ‘report’ (*izvještaj*) with elements of a personal story. Suddenly, the official sphere overlaps with the personal sphere. The reason for this was most probably the place and importance that religion was given in the political negotiations.

Milošević was said to be one of those leaders who used religion for his political aims (Veiga 2004). As FRY was in a very difficult position, and Russia was seen as one of the allies of FRY, Patriarch Aleksey, a religious leader, was a guest who potentially had substantial political influence. He was a representative of the Russian people, and was to appeal to the orthodox people in FRY. There are numerous examples of the emotionally powerful term *narod* ‘people’ in this article.<sup>96</sup>

All the participants on the photograph look towards the Patriarch, offering information to the viewers; the camera angle is social, but the motif of this photo has larger emotional potential than other photographs. Motifs of family and church symbolize the main pillars of society in times of crisis.



Figure 6.8: Example of a semi-personal photograph

<sup>96</sup> The concepts *narod* and *građani* are analyzed in Chapter 7.



### 6.9.1.4 Milošević - peace talks

A change in the positioning of Milošević happened on June 3 and 4. The news articles published on those two days report on the peace plan that the negotiators Chernomyrdin and Ahtisaari brought to Belgrade. Milošević was no longer in the center of the photographs, but on one side of the negotiating table. The parallel position of the two sides indicates equality. There are two sides which are negotiating. On June 3, Milošević is presented on the right side looking at Chernomyrdin and Ahtisaari and vice versa. On June 4, Milošević is photographed from a different angle, putting him in a central position again. This could mean the return to Milošević's more central position, reasserting his leadership role. This is a good example of how perspective can be used to foreground the same motifs differently. Gazes from Milošević and the people from his delegation, form vectors that are pointing at Chernomyrdin (see Figure 6.9.) Even though he is photographed from his back, Chernomyrdin's important position is pointed by the vectors and by the caption under the photograph. Chernomyrdin, being a Russian is accepted *a priori* as a friend. The photograph on June 4 is the last photograph on the front pages in *Politika*, until the end of the bombing on June 11. That means that the period of intense negotiation culminating in the military agreement was not accompanied by front page images.



Figure 6.9: Example of a change in position - June 3 and June 4

### 6.9.1.5 Esthetics in *Politika*

In addition to human participants, there are a number of inanimate elements shown on the photographs that make up a system of esthetics particular for *Politika*. Some of those elements were mentioned in the analysis: national symbols (flags), flowers, ashtrays, glasses, bottles and the luxurious interiors of the *Beli dvor* with stylish tables, chairs, fireplace and artwork. National symbols and luxury signal power. Most of the elements are presented as symmetrical (like flowers, glasses and ashtrays on the table): symmetry in this context signals order and discipline.

### 6.9.2 Photography in *Pobjeda*

As mentioned in Section 6.1, photographs in *Pobjeda* were more numerous and larger than in *Politika*. The motifs on the photographs which accompany the articles followed a similar pattern to that in *Politika*. The main politician, Đukanović, is photographed either alone, meeting other important political figures or presiding over various meetings (for summary see Table 6.9)

Figure: 6.10	Đukanović photographed alone
Figure: 6.11	Đukanović presiding over meetings, meeting important political figures
Figure: 6.13	Meetings with foreign political leaders abroad, 'diplomatic offensive'

Table 6.8: Types of photographs according to Đukanović's position on them

The difference between the patterns found in *Pobjeda* from the patterns found in *Politika* is that there are no semi-official photographs in *Pobjeda*, and there are no photographs in *Politika* of Milošević meeting politicians abroad, as he did not leave the country during the bombing.

#### 6.9.2.1 Đukanović - alone

In Figure 6.10 there are two examples, out of 18 photographs, in which Đukanović is portrayed alone. The microphones in front of him, contextualizing elements, symbolize an official occasion, that of Đukanović giving a speech, an interview or a press conference. The microphones point at the genre used in the articles – interview. Đukanović's gaze is directed outside the photograph, offering information, not

demanding anything from the viewer, but presupposing their agreement with the ‘truthfulness’ of the photographs.

Screamer headlines which were regularly used in *Pobjeda*, overlap with the photograph which in itself is a cut-out. This overlapping connects the verbal text with the photograph of the speaker i.e. it connects the visual with the verbal, but foregrounds the verbal. Words overlap with the photograph making the photograph a background or context for the words. This type of overlapping has almost a speech bubble effect.

The effect of cut-out photographs is meant to make Đukanović more salient. This is done by removing Đukanović from the real background into a background which is simply gray. He is also lifted above the text. According to van Leeuwen (2005), this could mean a shift in modality – from real to unreal, but in this case, I propose the screamer headlines, which are quotes by Đukanović, anchor Đukanović’s photo in the version of reality that the newspaper wants to convey. Modality is used to make Đukanović more salient rather than removing him from reality.



Figure 6.10: Examples of photographs on which Đukanović is alone

### 6.9.2.2 Đukanović - in meetings

Đukanović is rarely presented as presiding over meetings (there are photographs of this in two issues only) when compared to Milošević (on 33 photographs). Meetings with other political leaders and bilateral meetings are the topic of 12 photographs.

Examples of Đukanović leading meetings are shown in Figure 6.11. The difference between similar photographs from *Politika* is that the gaze of other participants is not aimed exclusively at Đukanović (Figure 6.11, left). Also, Đukanović is not exclusively positioned in the center. He is, for example, also positioned in the left corner of a photograph which shows him from one side (Figure 6.11, right). This could be interpreted as signaling a more liberal type of leadership than Milošević's.

As in *Politika*, the official nature of the meeting in *Pobjeda* is symbolized by his official suit/tie, by the coat-of-arms visible in the center above Đukanović and by the flags on the right side (Figure 6.11, left). The photograph is taken from a frontal angle marking the distance as social distance. Đukanović is not in the center of the right hand photograph in Figure 6.11, where he is chairing a meeting with religious leaders from Montenegro. The angle of the photograph is oblique and Đukanović is shown from his side, while more prominence is given to the religious leaders whose faces we see from the front. All religious leaders are wearing clothes which symbolize the religion they represent. The point is made from the fact that different religious leaders are united the meeting; the uniter being Đukanović.



Figure 6.11: Đukanović leading meetings

Đukanović is often portrayed in different positions from Milošević. Figure 6.12 is a further example of an oblique angle used by the photographer. It shows the speaker from his side, more detached from the viewers and showing the journalists at the press conference. Even though Đukanović is not in the center of the photo, he is salient because of his position as a speaker/sender of the message in contrast to the many



journalists who are positioned as listeners. He is salient on the photograph because he is closer to the viewer and his white jacket is in contrast to the darker background. Đukanović is portrayed as active because he is standing and talking. And the ‘whole world’ - represented by the journalists - is listening to him. Screamer headlines overlap in this example as well. The overlapping gives an impression that the text is being spoken by the person on the photo. This photography is self-reflexive photography, seen from the media point of view, showing how the media works and at the same time positioning Đukanović as ‘democratic’.



*Figure 6.12: Example of a photograph of Đukanović taken from an oblique angle*

### 6.9.2.3 Đukanović - abroad

Figure 6.13 shows three examples of photographs from Đukanović's series of visits to important foreign political leaders. The common feature in these three photographs is the complementarity between Đukanović and the leaders he is photographed with. That complementarity is shown in the same body language as Schröder, shaking hands with Chirac and walking down the stairs, together with Albright. Complementarity evokes equality – if Đukanović is meeting these important political leaders, the very act of being photographed with them works up his own importance. Đukanović is portrayed as active, shaking hands, signaling a promise or walking

closely together with Secretary of State, Albright, signaling agreement after a meeting. The headlines and captions contribute to viewers' understanding of an action by identifying the participants of the political action.



Figure 6.13: Đukanović meeting different political leaders

### 6.9.2.4 Esthetics in Pobjeda

The system of esthetics in *Pobjeda* is low key compared to that of *Politika*. The luxury of the *Beli dvor* is replaced with the simplicity of meeting rooms in the Montenegrin parliament. Flowers are rarely shown, and papers and water glasses dominate. Another element which is more present in *Pobjeda* than in *Politika* are microphones, signaling connection with the audience. Concerning the national symbols, the Montenegrin coat-of-arms is significant as it signals the Montenegrin special status hinting at its independence.

### 6.9.3 Autocratic vs. democratic identities

*Politika* is building/maintaining Milošević's identity as a strong leader and defender of the nation in relation to the major world powers such as the USA and NATO. On the other hand *Pobjeda* is building Đukanović's identity in relation to Milošević – on a binary between autocracy/democracy. I propose that we can make a connection between the visual representation of these political leaders and the newspapers' self-defined ideology. In *Pobjeda* the Montenegrin government's ideology was defined as democracy. In *Politika* the ideology was defined in terms of resistance towards the

invasive new world order which was to be achieved by the USA and its allies. If the term democracy is understood to refer to a society that gives space to different voices and opinions, then *Pobjeda's* presentation of Đukanović can be understood as supporting this view. Đukanović was not given a monopoly of the space on the front pages. Quite the contrary two other important politicians (Marojević and Vujanović) were allocated a significant presence. On the other hand, the fact that these two other politicians shared Đukanović's political views and can be considered to be the same voice, supports the notion that other voices were not given space. Yet again, there were many other politicians who supported Milošević's political views, and none of them were presented on the front pages in a significant manner. Milošević was given an unquestionable monopoly of the front pages of *Politika*. In addition, his photographs were entrenched in the most prominent place on the front pages – the upper left corner, while the varying position of Đukanović's photographs again hinted at the sharing of important space with the others. The strong leadership role of Milošević was illustrated by the type of photographs, the majority of which (33) presented him leading meetings and the centrality of his position on the photographs. On the other hand, the majority of the photographs of Đukanović presented him alone (18), entrenching him as a default leader in Montenegro. Yet he was not given the exclusive central position on all photographs; instead he was portrayed as sharing power with other politicians.

The activities ascribed to Milošević through the photographs include presiding over meetings, posing, and mostly sitting which, as a whole, invoke a static or stable type of leadership. On the other hand, Đukanović is giving interviews, press conferences, traveling abroad and often standing. This could be interpreted as the active type of leadership often connected with a pro-Western style. Not only photographs, but also the media genres were used to contribute to this representation of the two leaders.

### **6.10 Genre and framing**

The understanding of genre in the theoretical literature has moved from analyzing genre as a static, universal concept to analyzing genre as a changing concept connected to social action (Fairclough 1995b; Miller 1984). As this is a topic of a large research field<sup>97</sup> this study will limit itself to asking one question: how are

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<sup>97</sup>For more on genres within SFL, see Leckie-Tarry (1995), within a socio-cognitive approach, Zhu (2005) and on media genres, O'Keeffe (2006).



different media genres used to build Đukanović's and Milošević's identities? This question presupposes the acceptance of genre as social action and adopts media practitioners' definitions of media genres. In the following section, media genres will be defined following Yugoslav journalist literature and then their function will be connected with social action in an attempt to answer this question.

### 6.10.1 Media genres in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

In Yugoslav journalist literature, the importance of media genres and their connection to social action is acknowledged in various journalist manuals (Todorović 2000, Šare 2004). Both the difficulties of separating media genres, and their intermixing are discussed. While discussing the genres in newspapers in the Yugoslavian press, Todorović (1998; 2002) describes the usual three-fold division.

1. Fact-oriented genre: 'news' (*vijesti*), 'report' (*izvještaj*), 'interview' (*intervju*)
2. Fiction-oriented genre: feature, humorous texts, caricatures, etc.
3. Analytical genre: editorial, comment, notes, columns, art criticism, etc.

She proposes that this should be exchanged with a division into two: factual and interpretative genres (Todorović 2002: 63). The factual genres answer the questions 'who, what, where, when, how', while the interpretative genre includes the analysis and the answers to question 'why' placing events in a wider, social context as well as answering the question 'what next'. Todorović points out, however, that the factual genre is rarely pure and that the elements of interpretative journalism have entered the factual genre. There is a tension between the need for media genres to be easily recognizable and the frequent mixing of media genres. Why is genre mixing problematic in this material? One possible answer is that readers expect the facts in a factual genre, and if journalists' personal views are expressed implicitly, readers can not recognize them easily. Consequently, they can interpret a journalist's views as facts and form their own opinion on false premises. This points back to questions of subjectivity and objectivity – following a 'commonsense notions of subjectivity and objectivity'; factual genres are expected to be objective, while interpretative genres are supposed to be subjective (cf. White 1999).

The material analyzed in this study consists of articles that formally belong to the factual genre news/reports and interviews, but that also consists of interpretative elements some of which have been shown in the section on visual framing above (e.g.

the foregrounding of certain political views/persons through the choice of layout, headlines, photographs) and some of which will be shown in the following chapter on verbal framings (the categorization of actions and persons through the use of emotional denotations).

### 6.10.2 News, reports and interviews

According to Todorović (2002: 74) 'news', as condensed general information about an event represents a static form. On the other hand, a 'report', in addition to the general information, elaborates on other facts which make up the event. Important details are foregrounded in a report which makes it a dynamic form. Some theorists do not differentiate between news and a report, referring to a report as extended news (Rus-Mol and Keršer 2005:49; Slavković 1973:167). News gives information about an event, while a report gives a description of how an event occurred. In an 'interview', the audience is informed about a problem, an event or a person through a dialog: through questions and answers. In this sense press conferences (*pres konferencija*) and statements (*izjava*) (addresses to people *obraćanje narodu*) are forms of interviews (Todorović 1998:29). As interviews directly quote other voices, they are positioned as facts.

As mentioned above, media genres are not strictly defined. They are intertwined, they overlap and mix. This fact makes it difficult to be theoretically precise about media genres. Different media genres, no matter how mixed they are:

signal the kind of communication to expect. All of these communicative events have a widely recognizable structure because they are institutionalized events (O'Keeffe 2006: 19).

Accordingly, readers expect to be truthfully informed through media genres about, in this case, political events.

### 6.10.3 Functions of media genres

The need for a better understanding of events is much higher in times of crises like wars, catastrophes and conflicts. During such periods there is a general expectation that the interpretative genres will be given priority and additional space (Todorović 1998: 21). But both factual and interpretative genres were used for spreading 'disinformation, half-information or hiding events during the 90's in Yugoslavia' (Todorović 1998: 16). Accordingly, not only the language but also the selection of different media genres is directly connected with politics. As an example of this

connection between politics and the function of media genres, journalist Ćurgus-Kazimir writes the following:

Genres in the Yugoslav journalism have, without doubt, constantly been serving the actual politics. Genre is - in essence - more functionalized than the terminology and language itself. The language and terminology adapted to genre and not vice versa! So, for example, the terms 'Šiptari' [a term for Kosovo Albanians, derogatory if used by Serbs], Kosovo Albanians or Albanians appeared throughout different generic texts by the same authors - depending on the editor's political orientation. (Ćurgus 1999: 134).

As explained in Chapter 1, the material in this study was chosen following the main characters, with Milošević as a metonym for Yugoslavia/Serbia and Đukanović as a metonym for Montenegro. In framing Milošević, *Politika* used primarily news/reports (47), and to a lesser degree interviews (two addresses to the nation and two interviews) while in framing Đukanović, *Pobjeda* used news (22) and interview (17 of which two addresses to the citizens, three press conferences, 10 interviews and two appeals). There is a clear difference in choice of genre between the two newspapers. News being mainly a static genre contributed to building the identity of Milošević as a static leader, and a small amount of interviews and press conferences contributed to building the identity of Milošević as a leader who did not talk very much. The term static can be understood both in positive and negative terms in Yugoslavia, depending which political side one is on. For Milošević's supporters, static was a positive term as it led to feelings of security and stability given the assured knowledge of what to expect from their leader. This understanding goes together with the only leadership style known in FRY: the authoritative leadership style. The notion of not talking much, again evoked a specific style of leaders, described in some literature as sultan-like leaders (cf. Antonić 2002).

Đukanović's identity was built, on the other hand, as a leader who was talking a lot to both the people and to the journalists. Interviews and press conferences were often used genres. The action of communicating with the people who elected him and communicating and being accessible to the media, and thus being transparent, pointed to a different type of leader: a democratic leader (according to *Pobjeda's* own definition - see Chapter 7). These observations are observations of certain tendencies and are not absolutes. The most important tendency was that the choice of genre contributed to the ways both newspapers built the political identities of Milošević and Đukanović.

### 6.11 Summary

This chapter focused on four points: the importance of front pages in general and the placement of different elements on front pages in particular, the significance of paratexts, the significance of photographs and the situated function of media genres used. The following verbal and visual differences between *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were noticed:

#### *Front page layout:*

*Politika* used large amounts of verbal text, few black and white photographs, no screamer headlines, and low key division between the articles, while *Pobjeda* used larger photographs, less verbal text and clearly marked the division between the articles and screamer headlines. The placement of the analyzed articles and photographs according to their information value, salience and framing also differed in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. Whereas *Politika* gave more prominence (upper left corner) to the articles in which Milošević was the main character due to its 'breaking news' character, *Pobjeda* divided the front pages among three main politicians and gave more salience to Đukanović by printing larger photographs and using marked boxes.

#### *Paratexts:*

The main differences between *Politika* and *Pobjeda* in typography of the paratexts could be summarized as (i) *Pobjeda's* daily use of screamer headlines is not found in *Politika*, (ii) *Pobjeda's nadnaslov* are considerably shorter than *naslov* making the screamer headlines even more salient, and (iii) *Pobjeda* uses capital letters in captions more often than *Politika*.

Visually the difference between the nucleus and the body of the text was stressed in both newspapers. The larger font sizes and different fonts make it easier for readers to identify and read the nucleus as a whole, and often stop at that. The division between the nucleus and the body was clearer in *Pobjeda*, relying on font sizes, framing and positioning on the page. In addition, the nested position of the photographs made a nucleus in *Pobjeda*, but the whole article salient in *Politika*. In *Pobjeda*, the evaluative parts of captions were foregrounded with capital letters, while in *Politika* the use of capital letters seems more random. Textually, *Pobjeda* and *Politika* differed somewhat in the lengths of their headlines and choice of noun phrases vs. full sentences. Both newspapers used longer headlines than is case in the western press. *Politika* had longer *nadnaslov* and *naslov* while *Pobjeda* used longer *podnaslov*. The length of headlines can lead to reader fatigue and stop them from reading the rest of

the article. On the other hand, the most salient social events, according to the newspapers, are presented in the headlines. Noun phrases and full sentences (without the auxiliary verb 'to be') were used equally often, except in the case of *naslov* in *Pobjeda*, where full sentences were used more than three times as often as noun phrases. Noun phrases and sentences without auxiliary verbs place the readers in the middle of events and encourage them to read further. *Politika* used a sub-global paratext for the front pages from March 26 to June 10, 1999. The sub-global paratext is clearly evaluative and gives a clear position to the front page as well as the newspapers as a whole. *Pobjeda* did not use a common sub-global paratext. Captions were longer and more present in *Politika* than in *Pobjeda*. They also followed particular rules of textuality in both newspapers, being nominal/adverbial phrases rather than full sentences.

### *Photographs:*

On the representational level, all the photographs in *Pobjeda* and *Politika* were black and white photographs which represented people as the main participants. They either represented one participant (portraits) or two or more participants engaged in action. The actions shown were presiding over meetings, talking to other political figures, talking to journalists etc. Different types of photographs point at different media genres of articles.

Milošević was in most cases positioned in the center of photographs, making him salient. At the same time, he was positioned in the background in the situations where the question of responsibility for certain political actions was unclear. Milošević is portrayed mostly sitting, presiding over meetings and rarely talking to the public. Photographs of Đukanović are taken from different positions. He is often photographed from the side, mostly standing and often talking to the public. On the interpersonal level all the analyzed photographs in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* are offering information i.e. the main participants are not engaging their gazes with the viewers, thus not demanding anything.

### *Genres:*

There was a clear preference for particular genres while writing about Milošević and Đukanović. In *Politika* news/reports were used in the majority of the corpus articles, whereas *Pobjeda* used a mixture of news and interviews. The choice of genre contributed to building two different styles of leadership. These have been called static vs. dynamic leadership and they were connected to different ideologies.

This range of features performed different functions in building identities and relations. The different use of semiotic resources can, in this context, be connected to different ideological positions that these two newspapers had at that particular moment in time. *Politika* supported Milošević's government which was considered by its critics to be an 'old communist regime' while *Pobjeda* was trying to build an image of Đukanović as a pro-Western type leader. Further, the evaluative power of paratexts is achieved through the choice of nucleus and the intensificatory values of quality and measure. Even though the intensificatory values are found in body texts as well, they have the highest impact in paratexts. Accordingly, the choice of nucleus is important as it focuses on particular events in society by giving voice to 'friendly' politicians and silencing 'unfriendly' once. The choice of voices connects these events with different values of intensification, both of quality and of measure. The choice of voices and their intensification clearly shows the position of the newspapers, the evaluation by the journalists/editors-in-chief and it provokes emotional response and support from the readers. The photographs have several functions. They have a repetitive, ritual function of representation; by repeating the motifs they entrench and foreground certain political figures. Furthermore, they illustrate the actions of the political leaders and by doing so they document the political events. By documenting and explaining political events, the newspapers give the readers/viewers clues as to how to act appropriately.

By repeating both the placement of articles, frames and types of photographs that accompanied the verbal texts, the newspapers achieved visual entrenchment. The visual entrenchment, together with the entrenchment of genres gave a sense of security and routine to the readers, which in turn convinced them that the government was in control. In the following chapters a bridge between the visual framing in this chapter to verbal framing will be built.

## 7.0 Inhabiting the ‘theater of war’,<sup>98</sup>

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This chapter focuses on verbal framing and the construction of Discourse Models. In addition to verbal framing, the visual framing presented in the previous chapter will be referred to when appropriate in order to show the visual-verbal complementarity. As pointed out in several places in this study so far, the choice of linguistic and semiotic resources influence readers’ construction of different versions of reality. Constructions are ‘a matter of meaning and cognition and they can be deployed to convey different ideologies’ (Attia 2007: 100). It will be shown that there is a difference between calling NATO bombing an ‘aggression’ or an ‘intervention’, or an armed group of people ‘defenders’ or ‘terrorists’. The situated meanings of these and other linguistic choices activate corresponding Discourse Models and contribute to building identities and relations. The identities of Serbia, Montenegro and NATO and the relations among them were being built in this material following the ‘consensus’ and ‘cannibalism’ principles and expressed in the *ideological square* – see Chapter 2).

Emphasize positive things about Us

Emphasize negative things about Them

De-emphasize negative things about Us

De-emphasize positive things about Them

Emphasizing and de-emphasizing can be done in numerous ways, on different levels in discourse and by using a range of linguistic and semiotic resources. The focus of

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<sup>98</sup>The metaphor ‘theater of war’ is used here to underline the way war was conceptualized, not as a personal construal of the war.

analysis in this and the following two chapters will be on the lexico-grammatical, metaphor and Discourse Models (DM) choices analyzed through:

- Lexicogrammatical units which emphasize/de-emphasize positive/negative things about Us-Them (for example: lexical repetition<sup>99</sup>, agency, the use of pronouns and qualifiers and their persuasive potential, etc.)
- The functions and implications of the metaphors used to structure Us-Them polarity
- Situated meanings and the collocations of key concepts
- The main DMs that structure the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro and other participants
- The omissions of certain topics and thus exclusions of elements that would disturb the scenarios in the DMs.

The analysis will be divided into three parts. The first part, in this chapter 'Inhabiting the Theater of War', is a close analysis of the addresses to the nation given by Milošević and the address to the citizens in Montenegro given by Đukanović. Close analysis is connected to the macro-analysis by identifying DMs through both top-down and bottom-up analysis. The main aim of the first part of the analysis is to identify identities, their relations and the DMs constructed by the main participants Milošević and Đukanović.

The second part of the analysis, Chapter 8, 'Friends and Foes', follows the development of these identities, relations and identified DMs placing special emphasis on the relations between Serbia and Montenegro. The analysis will illuminate possible connections between key events presented in Chapter 4 and their construction in the analyzed articles.

The final part of the analysis, Chapter 9 'Exiting the Theater of War', focuses on the address to the people given by Milošević and a newspaper interview with Marović, after the NATO bombing had stopped. These addresses offer two different versions of closure to the NATO bombing: the versions that will influence further political events in FRY.

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<sup>99</sup> 'Three or more instances of the 'same' lexical element indicate the importance that different speakers give to different themes and topics. Grammatical repetition can indicate the difference in each politician's style of speech' (Hillier 2004).



### **7.1 Addresses-to the nation and citizens**

The morning after the NATO bombing started *Politika* published Milošević's address to the nation on its front page while *Pobjeda* published Đukanović's the address to the citizens of Montenegro on its front page.<sup>100</sup> These two speeches marked the start of the the initial construction of the conflict. Both presidents were maintaining and building their identities as leaders - in control - through these addresses. While building their own identities they were also constructing an in-group: an 'Us-category'. The Us-category was constructed in opposition to the construction of the identities of the out-group: 'the other'. Furthermore, by legitimizing their own politics, the presidents were each constructing a relationship between 'Us' and 'Them' which blamed the other for the difficult situation. By doing so they were trying to maintain and create a common ideology among the addressees, both domestic and international. Accordingly, both presidents were doing similar things, i.e., they were doing politics by using linguistic and semiotic resources.

The newspapers published the addresses in their entirety, with minor journalistic framing through the reporter voice, and the selection of headlines and leads. That there was only minor intervention by the journalists underlines the importance of the speakers and the seriousness of the situation as seen from the newspapers' point of view. By taking politicians seriously through their news, newspapers 'confer their [politicians'] legitimacy and impart significance' (Gitlin 2003[1980]: 37).

These two addresses were important for several reasons:

- a) They provided the space for building two different constructions of the initial representation of the NATO bombing
- b) They enabled both politicians to offer their own diagnosis of the situation and give their own prognosis for the future in the addresses
- c) They marked the beginning of an important period for the two politicians in which they actively maintained/built their identities as leaders in charge.
- d) They had a framing effect on *Politika's* and *Pobjeda's* (and other) constructions of the conflict

In the following analysis the focus will be on how the materials in the corpus construct the represented participants and relations. First, different participants will be identified and the relationship among them will be analyzed. Then, geopolitical

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<sup>100</sup>The addresses in Serbian and their translation in English are found on DVD and in Appendix 7.

entities and the role of the history in the texts will be analyzed as these aspect had a significant influence on the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro. On this basis, DMs will be identified as they emerge in these two initial speeches. These models played a decisive role in the construction of the conflict and the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro in the newspapers during the whole period of the bombing.

## 7.2 Coding and receiving time

Milošević's address to the nation was written before the bombing started and did not address the actual bombing, while Đukanović's address to the citizens of Montenegro was written after the bombing had started. Thus, the coding times of the addresses, i.e. the times when they were produced differ. Both addresses were published on March 25, 1999, so that the receiving time, i.e. when the readers had access to the speeches in print form was the same for both. Although prepared in advance of the bombing since his address was published the day after the bombing started, next to the article with the title, 'NATO started an evil aggression against our country' (*NATO započeo zločinačku agresiju protiv naše zemlje*) and since it was the only article on the front page connected to Milošević, his address to the nation could be read as portraying Milošević's reaction to the bombing.


March 24, 1999		March 25, 1999	
8pm		Morning edition of <i>Politika</i> and <i>Pobjeda</i>	
Milošević gives his address to the nation (CT)		<i>Politika</i> publishes Milošević's address on the front page (RT)	
	Đukanović gives his address to the citizens of Montenegro (CT)	<i>Pobjeda</i> publishes Đukanović's address on the front page (RT)	<i>Pobjeda</i> publishes Milošević's address on the fifth page (RT)

Table 7.1: Producing the addresses (coding time: CT) and publishing the addresses (receiving time: RT)

As the coding times differ, the aims of the speakers were also somewhat different. Milošević's address attempted to fulfill several functions: to prepare the people for the possible bombing, instruct them on what to do, i.e. resist, justify his own decisions

and place the blame outside of FRY, onto NATO. Đukanović was trying to instruct the people of Montenegro what to do while being bombed, i.e. stay calm. He was also trying to justify his own decisions but he was putting the blame for the conflict on both Milošević and the international community (NATO).

### 7.3 Visual framing

The front pages of the newspapers are shown in Figure 7.1:



Figure 7.1: Front pages of Politika (left) and Pobjeda, (right) March 25, 1999.

The layout of the front pages followed the newspapers' layout traditions (see Chapter 6 and Table 7.2 under). As mentioned above, those traditions differ in their information value, salience and framing.

POLITIKA	POBJEDA
Vertical division of the page	Horizontal division of the page
One photo - focus on text	5 photos - less text than in Politika
Black and white	The name of the newspaper in red colour, otherwise black and white
Articles not framed or separated with clear boxes; articles separated by thin lines or empty space	Articles clearly framed and separated from each other; articles in boxes of different shades (black, gray)

POLITIKA	POBJEDA
No screamer headlines	Screamer headlines

Table 7.2: Differences in *Politika*'s and *Pobjeda*'s front pages

*Politika* relied on the prevalence of verbal text, with a single black/white photograph, no screamer headlines, and almost no framing of articles, whereas *Pobjeda* had five photos, red color in its name, stronger framing around the articles and screamer headlines. Photographs were in naturalistic coding, i.e. they were shown in detail and the politicians were easily recognizable. *Politika* had mainly vertical page division, while *Pobjeda* preferred a horizontal divide. The positions of the addresses on the front pages also differed. Milošević's address was printed on the left side of the front page; it was foregrounded by occupying half of the page and by being presented in its entirety on the first page. The close-up photograph of Milošević which accompanied the address both identified the speaker and characterized him. Identification was assured by the caption under the photo with Milošević's name and his title. That Milošević was characterized as serious and as being on official duty was signaled by his attire: suit and tie. The flags behind him helped recognize Milošević as a metonym for the nation and they underlined the official nature of the occasion.

Đukanović was assigned a less salient position on the right side of the front page of *Pobjeda*, both by devoting less space to him and by splitting his address in two. The readers had to turn to page three to read the whole address, which meant more effort was required from them than from *Politika*'s readers. The photo that accompanied Đukanović's speech also identified him as the speaker, but he was presented in a different position. He was sitting and talking in front of microphones. His body position constructed visual agency and assigned him a more active role in comparison to Milošević, who was posing. The difference between posing and talking could be interpreted as the difference between the representation of a static and a dynamic leader. As shown in Chapter 6, *Politika* had a tendency to frame Milošević as a static leader and *Pobjeda* had a tendency to frame Đukanović as a dynamic leader throughout the whole period of the NATO bombing. None of the leaders looked directly at the readers. In terms of Halliday's speech acts, they were offering information, not demanding it. Offering information in this case meant offering a 'true picture' of what was happening. The social distance between Milošević and the

readers was social (medium shot), while the social distance between Đukanović and the readers was somewhere in between social and impersonal (medium/long shot).

The coat-of-arms of Montenegro (but not of FRY) visible on the wall behind Đukanović had the same function as the flags behind Milošević. It signaled a connection between the leader and his country/people and reminded readers that the leaders were talking on behalf of whole nations.

Both politicians were psychologically salient, and their mere presence signaled the importance of the activity portrayed. This personal salience was automatically transferred onto their addresses. The multi-modal elements i.e. the choice of placement of the addresses on the page, photographs, font types and sizes and verbal texts all together participated in meaning making: signaling the importance of the speakers and what they were going to say.

The intersemiotic relationship between the photographs and the texts is a relation in which they complement each other. It is possible to identify the participants on the photographs, and connect them to the text, and the content of the image adds further information to the text. Under Milošević's photo there was a caption with his name, while Đukanović's name was written in the general title, above the photograph.

The *nadnaslov* 'Address to the nation by the president of the Republic' in *Politika* and 'The address by the president of the republic Milo Đukanović to the citizens of Montenegro' in *Pobjeda* placed the articles in the general contexts: *Politika*'s context being the whole nation while *Pobjeda*'s context being Montenegro. The *naslov* and *podnaslov* in the respective newspapers were direct quotations by Milošević and Đukanović taken from the body text with minor journalistic framing. By choosing the nucleus, the editors-in-chief extracted and foregrounded the most important points in the text according to their own view. In this case, the nucleus contained the most important points of two different DMs, which will be addressed in 7.10.

### **7.4 Building participants' identities**

The speakers of both addresses were central in their respective addresses, and as such they represented deictic centers: Slobodan Milošević in *Politika* and Milo Đukanović in *Pobjeda*. The deictic centres placed other participants in relation to themselves, thus building their own identity and the identity of the others. Other identities and actions were described and evaluated from the differing perspectives of the two speakers. Their perspectives were situational, as they had to address the situation they were in;

personal, as they explained the situation from their personal point of view, and social, as they addressed other social participants. The participants can be divided into two major categories in both addresses: an Us-category and a Them-category, as seen from the two different deictic centres. In addition, they can be divided into individual, group and organizational participants. The individual participants were in a minority, making the collectives (groups and organizations) prominent, a pattern which, I propose, helped constrain individual voices and thus reduce the diversity in perspectives.

The binary distinction brings to mind two clean cut categories – ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, consisting only of members that fully belong to the categories, but that was not the case, as seen earlier in Chapter 3.

### 7.4.1 ‘Us’ in Pobjeda:

On the level of interpersonal participants, *Pobjeda* is a member of an Us-category which is not expressed explicitly. It is sufficient for it to be the government newspaper and to allocate space, and thus salience to the address. The focus here now turns to the participants in the text.

Three members were identified in the Us-category: (i) the first person, I - Đukanović, (ii) the government of Montenegro. and (iii) the inhabitants of Montenegro. Different denotations were used for these members and some of them overlapped semantically. In the following each of them will be analyzed separately.

- The I-category as a member of the Us-category: the deictic centre - Đukanović - is a member of the Us-category but at the same time he is removed from it, since he is in a position to evaluate and animate the ‘Us-category’ (see Figure 7.2, left circle).<sup>101</sup>
- The inhabitants of Montenegro linguistically realized in the pronoun ‘we’ (*mi*), and nouns ‘citizens’, ‘generations’, and ‘people’ (*građani*, *generacije*, *narod*) (see Figure 7.2, middle circle).
- The Montenegrin government linguistically realized in the pronouns ‘we’ (*mi*), and in the noun phrases ‘government organs’, ‘political subjects’, ‘government

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<sup>101</sup>This overlapping position is seen in the following examples: while talking to the citizens Đukanović explicitly removes himself by foregrounding his own position ‘as the president of all citizens’ *kao predsjednik svih građana* (19), ‘respected citizens’ *poštovani građani* (24). On the other hand, every time he uses the form we (explicitly or implicitly – as a part of verb conjugation) he is including himself into the Us-category.

leadership', and parties' (*državni organi, politički subjekti, državno rukovodstvo, partije*) (see Figure 7.2, right circle).

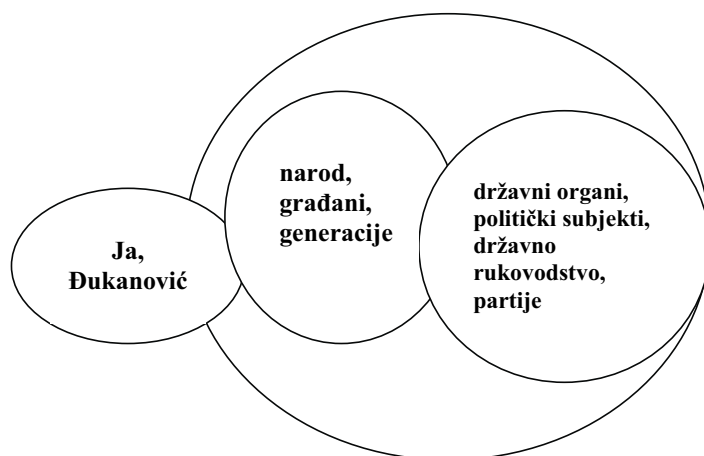


Figure 7.2: *Us-category in Pobjeda, as seen from Đukanović as a deictic center*

#### 7.4.2 Personal pronouns as identity-builders in Pobjeda

Đukanović did not use the first person singular pronoun 'I' (*ja*), in his address, but he did use the first person plural 'we' (*mi*).<sup>102</sup> Since the implicit use of pronouns (through verb conjugation) is a characteristic of the Serbian language, verb forms which include 'I' and 'we' are included in the discussion.

Đukanović used verbs in first person singular three times (Appendix 7, lines 11, 19 and 22; all the numbers in brackets in this section refer to line numbers in Appendix 7): 'I appeal', 'I address you as the president', 'I call upon all citizens' (*Apelujem; Obraćam vam se kao predsjednik; Pozivam sve građane*). In all of these instances, he was exercising personal authority and power.

That the pronoun 'we' has fluidity of meaning in English texts has been noted (Chilton 2004; Fairclough 1995a; Hillier 2004). Similarly in Serbian, the pronoun

<sup>102</sup>In the Serbian language it is not necessary to use personal pronouns; i.e. Serbian is a pro-drop language, unless one wants to stress or highlight the importance of the persons in questions. It is usual to say:

1. *Pjevala sam na proslavi.* Sang (1. person singular included in the verb) at the party. instead of
2. *Ja sam pjevala na proslavi.* 'I sang at the party.'

In sentence 2. *ja* (*I*) stresses that it was me, and not somebody else who sang at the party. Accordingly, when the politicians choose to use personal pronouns at the places where they can be omitted, they are stressing or foregrounding something.

‘we’ can either include or exclude addressees. This characteristic combined with pronoun’s strong persuasive potential, opens up for the possibility of its use in particular construction of versions of events which blur the distinctions between groups. Thus, different groups often regard themselves as members of the Us-category, possibly taking responsibility and acting as being its representatives only to be excluded if the speaker should so decide. Đukanović used the pronoun *we* once (14) ‘We have to turn towards peace’ (*Mi se moramo okrenuti miru...*) including himself, the government and the citizens. There were four instances of an implicit (verb-form) use of ‘we’ (9, 12, 16 and 17). In (9) ‘we have persistently warned’ (*uporno smo upozoravali*) and (12) ‘because of that we demand’ (*zato tražimo*), in which the situated meaning of *we* included the politicians. Whereas in (16) ‘we are not spared from military sanctions’ (*nijesmo pošteđeni vojnih sankcija*) and (17) ‘it is upon us ...to preserve peace.. to ensure...’ (*na nama je ...da očuvamo mir... da obezbijedimo...*) all the citizens and the government officials are included. The fluctuation of the pronoun ‘we’ shifts from (i) speaker plus government and citizens, via (ii) speaker plus politicians to (ii)) speaker plus citizens. As expected, by using the personal pronoun ‘we’, the speaker builds solidarity with the addressees, in this case both the Montenegrin citizens and the Montenegrin government.

Đukanović did not use the pronoun ‘they’ (*oni*) in his speech.

### 7.4.3 Citizens, people, generations in Pobjeda

The semantic field of the word ‘citizen’ (*građanin*) is defined in the *Dictionary of Serbian Language* (Moskvljević 2000) as: 1. a city dweller and 2. someone who belongs to a state and enjoys full rights. The noun *narod* ‘people’ is defined as: 1. all people living on some territory (village, city, state) 2. nationality, nation 3. broad masses, and 4. people who live in the same house.<sup>103</sup> In the newest Serbian dictionary (2007), the second meaning of *narod* – nationality, nation - is defined in more detail as: 1. a historically created larger community of people with a common ethnic name, usually made on the grounds of common ancestry, language, territory, tradition, culture, religion, social life etc.

In the corpus, the situated meaning of the word *građani*, corresponded with the second point in the definition, including all the inhabitants who live on the territory of Montenegro and enjoy full rights. The term connoted a democratic government in

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<sup>103</sup>The word *narod* can be countable: ‘nation-nations’, *narod-narodi* or uncountable – ‘people’, *narod*.



opposition to the term ‘people’ (*narod*) which evoked connotations of a nationalistic, undemocratic government.<sup>104</sup> Thus, *građani* implied the equal status of all members, while *narod* implied a hierarchical relationship between the people and their leader. This distinction is very important as it was used to index the different ideological positions of the speakers. But, this is a somewhat simplified picture. Milošević and Đukanović do not use only one term each; on the contrary, both use both denotations with different situated meanings. In addition, over time the meanings of these words have begun to merge.<sup>105</sup> In this material, it is possible to notice some overlaps, but there was nevertheless still a clear difference between the two speakers’ use of the terms, both in terms of frequency of use and in terms of the collocations in which these two words appear (see 7.10.4.1 for more on frequency).

The word *građani* was used seven times in Đukanović’s speech. The qualifier ‘all’ (*svi*) was used in two instances (17 and 19). Three times *građani* was collocated with Montenegro: (20) ‘preservation of Montenegro and the lives of its citizens’ (*očuvanje Crne Gore i života njenih građana*); (22) ‘I invite the citizens of Montenegro’ (*pozivam građane Crne Gore*), and (24) ‘Respected citizens’ (*Poštovani građani*) (which implied citizens of Montenegro)). The function of the qualifiers *svi* and *njenih* is to build the unity within the group and merge the many voices into one.

*Narod* has often been used in political and everyday discourse both in Serbia and Montenegro (Čolović 2001b). It has been understood to refer to a group of humans belonging to the same nation, who are in need of protection and leadership. This is usually a victimized group, dependent on its leaders and emotionally connected to them. Simultaneously, *narod* is often evoked as heroic. In the words of Ivan Čolović, a renowned Serbian ethnologist ‘*narod* is a demagogic euphemism for a politically non-articulated mass ruled by a god-given elite with the almighty leader ahead’ (Čolović 2001: 138-140). In the corpus, *narod*<sup>106</sup> had a highly emotional connotative value which had great potential for ambiguity.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>The media in Serbia created ‘people’ – real democracies create ‘citizens’. (Čolović 2001b:130-140).

<sup>105</sup>According to the research done by Maciej Czerwinski (personal communication 2007) during the period of the campaign preceding the referendum on Montenegro’s independence (2005/2006) there was a tendency to merge the terms for Montenegro’s people and citizens.

<sup>106</sup>Recent use of the word *narod* is found in Josip Broz Tito’s discourse about the ‘people’s liberation struggle’ of the Second World War, *Narodnooslobodilačka borba*. In the 1950’s Josip Broz Tito, then the president of Yugoslavia, declared that he was ‘at the people’s service’ *u službi naroda*. But, in the rhetoric of the Communist party in the former Yugoslavia, including the beginning of Milošević’s rule, ‘workers, working class, comrades’, *radnici, radnička klasa, drugovi*, had a more prominent position

Đukanović used *narod* once in order to underline the close ties between the Montenegrin leadership and the people ‘together with its own people’ (*zajedno sa svojim narodom*). That this phrase used the space builder ‘its’ (*svojim*) implies that the word *narod* was used to refer to the Montenegrin people only rather than to the Yugoslav people. Accordingly, both *građani* and *narod* were used to denote only the inhabitants of Montenegro. The difference between the two could be seen through their connotative value: *građani* underlined the existence of rights and a civil society, while *narod* was used to emphasize togetherness in times of crisis.

The situated meaning of the word ‘generations’ (*generacije*) also had a strongly emotional connotation: ‘in the name of the contemporary generations and generations to come’ (*U ime budućnosti današnjih, i generacija koje će doći*). *Generacije koje će doći* is a poetic way of referring to the unborn children. One of the explicit values in the Montenegrin society (as is case of many other societies) is to work and sacrifice to achieve a better life for the children.

### **7.4.4 Government organs, political subjects, government leadership, parties**

The noun phrases/nouns: ‘government organs’, ‘political subjects’, ‘government leadership’, and ‘parties’ (*državni organi, politički subjekti, državno rukovodstvo, partije*) have two things in common. They are all related to the government, and they are all on a higher, more abstract level of categorization (see Chapter 3) making them somewhat vague. It was not clear exactly who the government organs (the metaphorical conception of the government is that of a body – organs being important parts of that body), political subjects, government leadership or parties were. But it was clear that all were united under the phrase (17) ‘it’s upon us in Montenegro’ (*na nama je u Crnoj Gori...*) The frequent use of the qualifier *svi* in: ‘all political subjects, all parties’ (*svim političkim subjektima; sve partije*), functioned also to unify and homogenize the members of the Us-category.

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than ‘people’. That changed during Milošević’s rule when *radnici* disappeared and *narod* appeared in a process which has been called *dogođanje naroda* (Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006: 483).

<sup>107</sup>This tendency has also been noticed in other languages. It is noticed by Harold Pinter (2005) said in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech that: ‘Language is actually employed to keep thought at bay. The words ‘the American people’ provide a truly voluptuous cushion of reassurance. You don’t need to think. Just lie back on the cushion. The cushion may be suffocating your intelligence and your critical faculties but it’s very comfortable.’

### 7.4.5 Building closeness

The notions of space, distance, closeness and relative position (cf. Chilton 2004) were very important in both addresses. The understanding of both geographical and metaphysical space is connected with our embodied experience of the world (see Chapter 3). Closeness/distance is linguistically expressed in various ways in different languages. As mentioned above, the deictic centre, Đukanović was in the position to construct an Us-category. His own position of closeness to other members of the Us-category was achieved by explicitly stating that he was ‘the president of all citizens’. As the president, Đukanović also belonged to the government. The government in turn was presented as an actively fighting for a better position for the citizens, while the citizens were included in the political space as an important, though partially passive party. They were passive in the sense that they were not given agency, somebody else (the government and Đukanović) had to make them act:

*Pozivam građane Crne Gore, sve partije i sve političke subjekte, da ostvarenju tog najvažnijeg i najdragocjenijeg cilja daju svoj maksimalan doprinos. (22)*

I call all citizens of Montenegro, all parties and all political subjects, to give their maximum contribution in order to achieve the most important and most precious aim [preservation of peace].

At the same time citizens were given agency ‘to ensure peace’.

*Na nama je u Crnoj Gori, na svim političkim subjektima, državnim organima, i svim građanima da očuvamo mir, da obezbijedimo građansku sigurnost i dobre međunarodne odnose. (17)*

It is upon us in Montenegro, upon all political subjects, government organs, and all citizens, to preserve the peace, to ensure the safety of the citizens and good relations among different nationalities.

The combination of passivity and agency in *narod* and *građani*, both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* will be pursued further below.

Proximity between government and citizens was also achieved by including them in a list, in this case a three-part list: ‘political subjects, government organs and all citizens’ (*politički subjekti, državni organi i svi građani*). By the logic of simply being together, connections and closeness among the members of the list could be inferred. This was further underlined by the use of the emotionally marked word *narod* – as a gradation of *građani* (24, 27). Summing up, the closeness between the speaker and the members of the Us-category in *Pobjeda* was achieved by:

- Use of direct speech while addressing the citizens

- Use of the personal pronoun ‘we’ (*mi*), for citizens, the government and oneself
- Use of space builders like ‘our’ (*naš*)
- Use of the qualifier ‘all’ (*svi*) in front of different members of the category (*as the president of all citizens*)
- Use of lists in which persons/objects appear together

At the same time as the process of building closeness was going on there was another process, pointing at a lack of unity within the Us-category, which, surprisingly supported the very closeness of the Us-category (see 7.8.2).

### 7.5 ‘Us’ in *Politika*

On the level of interactive participants, the fact that *Politika* is the government newspaper and give space to Milošević’s address to the nation means that it is a member of the Us-category without the necessity of explicitly expressing this membership. The focus here is thus on the participants in the text.

There were three members in the Us-category in *Politika*. These are partially different from those identified in *Pobjeda*.

- The I category in *Politika*: the deictic centre – Milošević - is a member of the Us-category, but at the same time he is removed from it since he is in the position to evaluate and animate the Us-category (Figure 7.3, left circle).
- The inhabitants of FRY linguistically realized in the pronouns ‘we’ (*mi*), and nouns/noun phrases ‘citizens’, ‘the nation’, and ‘the national communities’ (*građani, nacija, nacionalne zajednice*) (Figure 7.3, middle circle).
- The Yugoslav government and armed forces, linguistically realized in the pronouns ‘we’ (*mi*), the noun phrases ‘the National Assembly’, ‘the Yugoslav army’, ‘our delegation’, ‘the forces of state defense’, and ‘the forces of internal defense (police)’ (*Narodna skupština (NS), Vojska Jugoslavije(VJ), naša delegacija, snage državne odbrane (DO), snage unutrašnjih poslova (UP)*) (Figure 7.3, right circle).

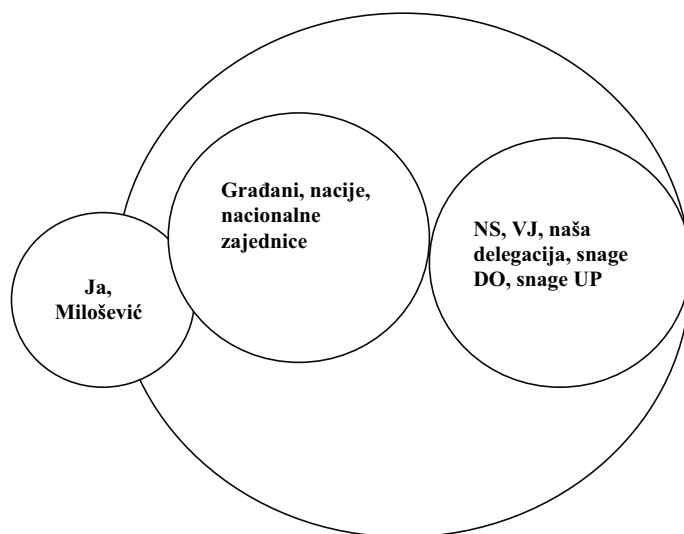


Figure 7.3: The Us-category in *Politika*, as seen from Milošević as a deictic center

There were no allusions at a possible lack of unity within the Us-category in *Politika*.

### 7.5.1 Personal pronouns in *Politika*

Milošević used the pronoun 'I' (*ja*) once: (14) 'in that sense I want to stress' (*U tom smislu ja želim da naglasim...*) and the verbs in the first person singular (implying the pronoun *ja*) twice: (3) 'I regard' (*smatram*); (18) 'because I regard that they are...' (*jer smatram da su...*). He thus exercised his evaluative power by positively evaluating the National Assembly's decision to reject the Rambouillet agreement.

The contrast between *opredeljeni smo* and *smatram* in (18), achieved between first person plural and the first person singular, showed the power that *ja* had and emphasized the inclusion of I in the Us-category:

*Dakle opredeljeni smo za dve glavne stvari – da nastavimo politički proces sa svom upornošću, jer smatram da su istina i pravda na našoj strani, ali i da branimo zemlju svim sredstvima u meri u kojoj ona bude napadnuta. (18)*

So, we are devoted to two main things: to continue the political process persistently, because I regard that the truth and justice are on our side...

Milošević used the pronoun 'we' four times (8, 9, 10, and 13) in his address, i.e. more frequently than Đukanović who used it only once. In all four cases the pronoun

excluded the addressees, the readers, since it referred to the government of Yugoslavia and the political decisions which they had made or were about to make. But, the mesmerizing closeness created by repeating the pronoun, had the potential to blur the distinction between the government and the addressees.

*Međutim, uprkos toga mi želimo da nastavimo uporno zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema na Kosovu i Metohiji. Mi iskreno verujemo da se dugoročno problemi na Kosovu i Metohiji mogu rešiti samo mirnim i političkim sredstvima. Pritom mi insistiramo na ključnom pitanju koje je bilo predmet zalaganja naše delegacije u Rambujeu i predmet svih naših zalaganja u kontaktima koje smo imali sa predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice.*(8-10)

Nevertheless, in spite of this, we wish to continue our persistent devotion to a peaceful resolution of the problems in Kosovo and Metohija. We sincerely believe that in the long term, the problems in Kosovo and Metohija can be solved only by peaceful and political means. With that, we insist on the key question which was the subject of our delegation's insistence in Rambouillet and the subject of all our efforts in the contacts which we had with the representatives of the international community.

Further, three instances of the verbs in the first person plural (implying the pronoun *we*) were noted: (15) 'when we are exposed to threats' (*kada smo izloženi pretnjama*) and (18) 'we are devoted' (*opredeljeni smo ...*); 'to continue the political process' (*da nastavimo politički proces*) 'to protect the country' (*... da branimo zemlju*). In sentence (18) given above, for example, the *Us*-category encompassed first the government, and then the government and the citizens. This inclusion and then the exclusion of addressees, as seen above in *Pobjeda*, opened the space for possible alternative readings of the text.

### 7.5.2 Citizens, nations and national communities and the army

In *Politika* the situated meaning of *građani* included all citizens of Yugoslavia as opposed to *Pobjeda's* situated meaning which included all citizens of Montenegro. Out of six instances of *građani*, five collocate with 'all' or 'in its wholeness' (*svi* or *u celini*) making, voice again one voice out of many. The unification of all citizens seems to be achieved, and the meaning of the *građani* and *narod* overlap.

The term *nacija* also had an emotional connotation: its situated meaning was the Yugoslav people or the Serbian people.<sup>108</sup> In the headlines, the address was given to

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<sup>108</sup>In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (ex-Yugoslavia) there were 'nations and minorities' *narodi i narodnosti*. *Narodi* was a term reserved for the people who had 'their own' republics (Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Muslims) and *narodnosti* was used for members of nations who had national states outside of Yugoslavia, e.g. Hungarians, Albanians, Turks. This term was also used for Roma although they did not have a nation state. I have chosen to translate *narodnosti* as

the 'nation' (*nacija*)<sup>109</sup> while in the address the term was not mentioned again. Instead, the term *građani* was used. Thus, there was semantic overlapping of the two concepts. 'National communities' (*nacionalne zajednice*), is the term that Milošević defined explicitly in his speech as the 'different nations that live in Kosovo including Serbs and Montenegrins'.

*Onaj politički sporazum, koji obezbedi ravnopravno postavljanje svih nacionalnih zajednica na Kosovu i Metohiji – i Albanaca i Srba i Crnogoraca i muslimana i Turaka i Goranaca i Roma i Egipćana, ima šansu da uspe, i da stabilizuje našu južnu pokrajinu, da obezbedi mir i stabilnost u čitavoj zemlji. (12)*

The political agreement which ensures equal alignment of all national communities in Kosovo and Metohija: Albanians, and Serbs and Montenegrins and Muslims and Turks and Gorans and Roma and Egyptians, has a chance to succeed and to stabilize our southern province, to ensure peace and stability in the whole country.

Muslims were written with a small letter 'm' to denote people who were of Muslim faith as opposed to Muslims written with a capital letter that would have denoted the name of a national group in Bosnia. The small letter was a signal that Muslims were not accepted as a nation, the status they had had in SFRY.<sup>110</sup>

Use of the word *građani* implied the equal status of its members whereas 'nation' (*nacija*) and 'national communities' (*nacionalne zajednice*) could imply unequal status. 'National communities' were marked as being different by the mere existence of the separate term, and due to the legal rights that accord with this term. Thus, although though they were all conceptualized as members of Us-category, some members were perceived as 'better' members of the category than others, making it a graded category. This enables slippage between Us and Them categories and points to the fluidity/flexibility of these categories.

Milošević used *građani* six times in his address. On five occasions, *građani* was found to collocate with the qualifier – 'all' (*svi*). Such collocations closely connected country and the citizens: (4) 'unity of all citizens of our country' (*jedinstvo svih građana naše zemlje*); 'liberty of our country and all its citizens' (*sloboda naše države*

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minorities – as the closest equivalent. The term *narodnost* had disappeared from the political vocabulary by the 1990's.

<sup>109</sup>The overlapping of meaning of another set of terms important for this study is *nacija* and *narod*. The sociologist Sokolović (2006: 190) describes three different approaches to the relationship between *nacija* and *narod* in the sociological literature: 1. no distinction is made between the two, 2. one concept is explained by the other, most frequently *nacija* by *narod* and 3. although essentially different both *narod* and *nacija* are substantially the same, since both are social groups.

<sup>110</sup>Muslims got the status of a 'nation', *narod*, under Tito's rule. Today Muslims are called Bosniaks when denoting their nationality.

*i svih njenih građana*). Milošević was in a position to talk to the citizens, and being the leader of the country he created a sense of closeness among citizens, country and himself. The unity of 'us' was further underlined by describing a threat from 'foreign troops on our territory' (*strane trupe na našoj teritoriji*).

Milošević did not use the word *narod* in this speech, which was unusual for his rhetoric.<sup>111</sup> In comparison, the address to the nation at the end of the NATO bombing published on June 11, used the word *narod* thirteen times (and the word *građani* ten times).

When it comes to the government, the emphasis in Milošević's address was on the defense forces: 'the forces of state defense', 'the Yugoslav army', and 'the forces of internal defense' (*snage državne odbrane, jugoslovenska armija, snage unutrašnje bezbednosti*). 'The Yugoslav army' and 'the forces of internal defense' were submembers of the category 'the forces of state defense'.

A connection was made between all *građani* and the army in (6):

*Izabrali su ta vrata zbog toga što se pretpostavljalo da na njima treba da stoji albanski separatistički pokret, a ne vojska Jugoslavije, a ne građani ove zemlje u celini... (6)*

They chose those doors because it was presumed that the Albanian separatist movement would stand on them, and not the Yugoslav army, and not the citizens of the whole country...

This connection between the people and the army was to be found in later articles as well. It resembled discourse about the Second World War, when the connection between the people and the 'liberation army' was presented as the formula that won the war.

'The National Assembly' (*Narodna Skupština*) played also an important role in Milošević's address. At first it seemed as if Milošević put the National Assembly above himself when he gave it the entire credit for making the decision to reject the foreign troops. At the same time, by evaluating that decision as a good one he placed himself in a position above the National Assembly. Furthermore, since the decision was connected to all the citizens, this handed responsibility for the decision to the citizens, and removed it from Milošević.

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<sup>111</sup>Milošević's relationship with *narod* started much earlier, in 1988. His 'anti-beaurocratic revolution' and 'appearance of people', *događanje naroda*, created an impression that he was the same as the *narod*. In *Politika* (23/7/1988) he was quoted as saying that: 'It is heard that some gathering or gatherings have the support of some leadership. People do not need support at all. And the leadership is not authorized to give support to the people. Only the people, the citizens, the public can give or deny the leadership its support.' *Čuje se ponegdje kako neki skup, ili skupovi, imaju podršku nekog rukovodstva. Narodu podrška uopšte ne treba. Niti je rukovodstvo nadležno da narodu daje podršku. Samo narod, građani, javnost može dati ili odreći podršku rukovodstvu.*



### 7.5.3 Building closeness

Milošević used ‘dear citizens’ (*dragi građani*) in addressing the citizens, while Đukanović used ‘respected citizens’ (*poštovani građani*). In establishing the relationship between the speaker and the hearers the former could be interpreted as more informal and thus evoking more closeness than the latter. *Dragi* is usually used as a term of endearment and is meant to establish closer contact between the speaker and hearer. But it is also used in more formal situations, for example in business letters as an opening line, as in English, and does not convey familiar closeness. In this context, however, I propose that *dragi* was used as an attempt to create closeness with the audience by indexing private discourse.

*Poštovani* is used when one wants to keep a certain distance. At the same time *poštovani* can be interpreted as giving more respect to the hearer by being spatially more distant, and thus possibly giving more space to hearers to decide on their own. Both terms were used to establish an extra-textual relationship, drawing the hearer into the speaker’s space.

Summing up, the unity of the Us-category in Milošević’s address is achieved by:

- Use of direct speech while addressing the citizens
- Use of the qualifier ‘all’ (*svi*)
- Use of the adverbs, nouns: ‘unified, unity’ (*jedinstveno, jedinstvo*)
- Use of personal pronoun ‘we’ (*mi*), for citizens, government and oneself;
- Use of space builders like ‘our’ (*naš*)
- Use of lists in which persons/objects appear together

## 7.6 Them-category

### 7.6.1 ‘Them’ in Pobjeda

The Them-category consists of two sub-groups which shall be referred to as internal and external Them-categories.

- a) Internal Them-category: president Milošević and the Federal government linguistically realized as ‘the president of FRY’, ‘the key factors in the country’, ‘the most responsible in the country’ (*predsjednik republike SRJ, ključni faktori u zemlji, najodgovorniji u zemlji*).
- b) External Them-category: ‘the NATO aviation’, ‘the international community’, ‘the key factors in the international community’, ‘the international military

forces' (*NATO avijacija, međunarodna zajednica, ključni faktori međunarodne zajednice, međunarodne vojne snage*).

Đukanović was clearly trying to distance himself from Milošević and his politics by denoting Milošević's politics as wrong and suicidal. At the same time, he acknowledged that Milošević was at the top of the federal government ('from the top of the Federal government' (*sa vrha savezne države*)), and that Montenegro was a part of it ('we being part of it' [the federal government] (*čiji smo dio*)). By using Milošević's formal title, 'the president of FRY' (*predsjednik SRJ*), Đukanović achieved more distance from him.

By using phrases 'the key factors in the country', and 'the most responsible in the country' (*ključni faktori u zemlji, najodgovorniji u zemlji*) to denote the leadership of FRY, Đukanović was placing the responsibility and blame for bombing on the leadership of FRY.

In Đukanović's speech, NATO was not clearly discernible from the international community. The denotation 'international military forces' (*međunarodne vojne snage*) in (9) and 'the international community' (*međunarodna zajednica*) in (11) implied that the international military forces were NATO forces. This was a very important point, as it meant that 'the other' was not clearly identified as NATO. *Međunarodna zajednica* might sound inclusive in this address, but on a closer look, it was reduced to NATO in this first address. In later articles, the term would be broadened to include countries beyond NATO.

### 7.6.2 'Them' in Politika:

The Them-category in *Politika* also consisted of two sub-groups: external and internal Them-categories.

- a) Internal Them-category: 'the Albanian separatist movement' (*albanski separatistički pokret*)
- b) External Them-category: 'the foreign troops', 'the representatives from the international community', 'the NATO-pact' (*strane trupe, predstavnici međunarodne zajednice, NATO pakt*).

The internal enemy, as denoted by Milošević, was the *albanski separatistički pokret*.<sup>112</sup> It seemed that Milošević, by foregrounding the Albanian separatist

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<sup>112</sup>Veljak (1996: 91) points to a paradigmatic shift in Yugoslav political discourse at the beginning of the 1990's. There was a shift from conceptualizing the internal enemy on the basis of racial

movement, tried to separate them from ‘all Albanian people’. However, at the same time, the extent to which ‘Albanians’ had previously been collocated with ‘separatist’ meant that the situated meaning had developed into the notion that ‘all Albanians are separatists’. The adjective *separatist* was known to evoke discomfort in readers. In embodied terms, the metaphor COUNTRY IS A BODY played on the analogy: since separating parts of one’s body is painful and thus understood in negative terms so is as separating one’s country. All the republics in the former Yugoslavia that wanted to become independent were stamped as ‘separatist’, even though they had been granted that possibility in the 1974 Constitution. Nevertheless, separatism was something that the country was supposed to fight.

Milošević distinguished between the international community and NATO. The representatives from the international community were presented as people with whom Yugoslavia was maintaining contacts with, and thus positive, while NATO was presented as entirely negative. Denotations like ‘NATO-pact’ (*NATO-pakt*), and ‘foreign troops’ (*strane trupe*) are suggestive of vocabulary used during the Second World War and thus worked up a defense position view. These denotations created more distance between Us and NATO in *Politika* than did the terms in *Pobjeda*.

### 7.6.3 Them vs. Them

The different conceptualizations of the ‘Them-category’ in these addresses and in the newspapers *Politika* and *Pobjeda* in general, marked the beginning of the tensions between the two newspapers’ representations of the conflict. During the NATO bombing this would develop into an open war of words and almost lead to a real armed conflict.

Taking Milošević and *Politika* as one deictic center, and Đukanović and *Pobjeda* as another (see Figure 7.4), NATO and the international community fall into a Them-category which both deictic centres share. The degree of ‘otherness’ and the distance however differ as seen from the two deictic centers. Although the international community is in the Them-category for both newspapers, it is presented as a possible partner for cooperation in *Politika*. The Albanian separatist movement is constructed as the Them-category only from *Politika*’s deictic center. It is not mentioned in *Pobjeda*. Finally, Milošević is in Đukanović’s Them-category, but not vice versa. By

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characteristic to contrasts based on ideological characteristic. ‘Albanski separatisti’ thus became semantically equal to all Albanians.

not mentioning Montenegro or Đukanović during the whole period of the bombing, Milošević was either indicating that the leadership led by Đukanović in Montenegro had no relevance for Serbia/Yugoslavia or that there was nothing problematic in their relationship. In either interpretation, FRY was homogenized as one entity.

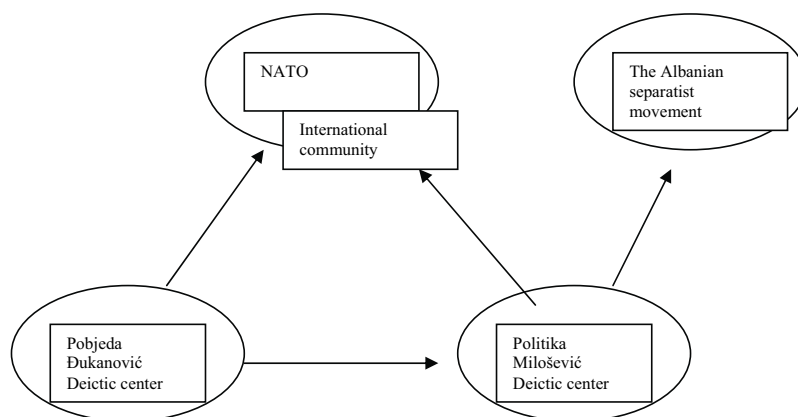


Figure 7.4: Them-categories as seen from the deictic centres

Both Milošević and Đukanović were thus building their identities by defining ‘the other’ as a threat, but they were doing so in different ways. The following section will show how these two speakers distance themselves from their respective others.

### 7.7 Distancing Them

Power and solidarity are in paradoxical relation to each other. That is, although power and solidarity, closeness and distance, seem at first to be opposites, each also entails the other. Any show of solidarity necessarily entails power, in that the requirement of similarity and closeness limits freedom and independence. At the same time, any show of power entails solidarity by involving participants in relation to each other. This creates a closeness that can be contrasted with the distance of individuals who have no relation to each other at all (Tannen 1996: 23).

After analyzing the identities inhabiting the Us and Them-categories in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, the focus now turns to finding out more about their relations. What are the differences between Us and Them and how are they enacted? What strategies, among the many that are at language users have at their disposal, are deployed to make the distinction between Us and Them clear for the readers?

### 7.7.1 Rationality vs. irrationality in Pobjeda

The Us-category in *Pobjeda* was presented as rational in contrast to the irrational Them-category of Milošević and the FRY government. This type of judgement falls under what Appraisal theory calls the social esteem category, i.e. ‘attacking the capacity/ability of the other to act by claiming his insanity’ (White 1999). Rationality was realized in the address through the use of metaphors. The most prominent metaphor was: A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A (HUMAN) BODY

DOMAINS	CATEGORIES		INFERENCES
	General	Specific	
SOURCE	Body	Head	Bodies consist of a number of parts that are hierarchically ordered. The head is the most important part of the body.
		Health/sickness	Bodies can fall ill and then need to be treated medically so as to guarantee survival
TARGET	Political entity	Institutional centre Peripheral political entity/political figure	Political entities consist of a number of parts that are hierarchically ordered. The president of the country is the head of the political body.
		Political crisis Political entity that causes crisis	Political entities can become dysfunctional (due to specific agents) and then need to be reformed to ensure continued existence. The president has become ill; he is supposed to be cured or exchanged.

Table 7.3: Scenario structure of the Body Politic metaphor (Musolff 2004)

The political entity is, in this case, the state. The target domain of the metaphor is the state; the source domain is perceived as a body or person. A person can be either healthy or sick with the former preferable to physical or mental sickness. Using this *body politic* metaphor, Đukanović drew attention to the functioning of the parts of the state. The head of the Yugoslav state (part of the political body), personified as Milošević, was not functioning well, which in bodily terms meant that it was not healthy. In this case, it was mental health which was addressed throughout Đukanović’s address through the nominal phrases and clauses: ‘mindless politics’ (*bezumna politika*), ‘suicidal adventure’ (*samoubilačka avantura*) or ‘is in conflict with the whole world’ (*u konfliktu sa cijelim svijetom*). The inference of this metaphor was that the government (body) was mentally ill and should not be obeyed since it

was not accountable for its decisions.<sup>113</sup> On the other side of the equation, Montenegro was conceptualized as a separate, rational and thus healthy political body.

RATIONAL US - MONTENEGRO	IRRATIONAL THEM – FRY GOVERNMENT AND MILOŠEVIĆ
7. <u>Učinili smo sve da spriječimo bazumnu politiku</u> We did everything to prevent this mindless politics	4. vode <u>bezumnu politiku</u> They lead <u>mindless politics</u>
16. <u>jedini glas razuma sa ovih prostora</u> The only voice of reason from these parts	5. uvode zemlju u opasnu avanturu čiji su ulog mir i životi građana; samoubilačku avanturu dalekosežnih posljedica They lead the country into a dangerous adventure with peace and the lives of citizens at stake; a suicidal adventure with far reaching consequences
9. <u>uporno upozoravali sve na moguće posljedice</u> We persistently warned about all possible consequences	12. <u>sukobljavaju se sa cijelim svijetom; dovode do kolektivnog stradanja nedužnih i ugrožavanja opstanka države</u> They are in conflict with the whole world; leading to collective suffering of the innocent and threatening the survival of the country
	16. zbog <u>njihove politike</u> nismo pošteđeni vojnih sankcija Because of <u>their politics</u> we are not spared military sanctions

Table 7.4: Rational vs. irrational in Pobjeda

There was also a trace of the rational vs. irrational divide between Montenegro and NATO/international community in Pobjeda; the latter terms being used interchangeably. Montenegro requested the international community (12) ‘to constrain itself from further strikes’ (*da se uzdrži od daljih udara*). Someone who cannot constrain oneself can be considered irrational. Furthermore Montenegro (rational) warned the international community (irrational) against a military solution to the Kosovo crisis: (7) ‘the Kosovo problem cannot be solved by anybody’s force, not even the force of the international military forces’ (*da se kosovski problem ne može riješiti bilo čijom silom; pa ni silom međunarodnih vojnih snaga*). Everyone was urged to return to a peaceful solution. On the other hand, NATO’s bombing of Yugoslavia was presented as ‘strikes on military targets’ (*udari po vojnim ciljevima*) which could be understood as a ‘rational action’ in contrast to possible ‘strikes on civilian targets’ if seen from NATO’s context. The international community (16)

<sup>113</sup>The use of mental health/suicide metaphors index Milošević’s family history. Both his father and his mother committed suicide. Suicide was also a possible scenario put forward by the media when Milošević died in the prison in Holland on March 11, 2006.

‘acknowledges that Montenegro is the only rational voice’. At no point during the NATO bombing did Đukanović use the word ‘aggression’ (*agresija*) to describe what was happening in the country although, as shown in Chapter 4, this was one of the key terms prescribed by the Ministry of Information in the semi-official instructions to all media participants in FRY.

The second prominent metaphor that helped structuring the relationship between Us and Them was POLITICS IS A HAZARDOUS GAME (i.e. Russian roulette)

...uvela je našu zemlju u opasnu avanturu čiji su ulog mir i životi građana (5)

...brought our country into a dangerous adventure with peace and citizens’ lives as a bid

The scenario that is connected with the term ‘hazardous game’ implies at least the following elements: players, something you play with, e.g. cards and something to bid, e.g. money or valuable objects, in this case the lives of the citizens. The risk element of the game is very important in this scenario. When one plays, one may win, but one may also lose. There is usually only one winner. The use of the word ‘bid’ (*ulog*) points at the scenario of playing a game. Characterizing what happened as a ‘dangerous adventure’ – a dangerous game – the speaker pointed at the uncertainty of the end result. This metaphor could be paraphrased as Milošević and the federal leaders played a game whose result we could not know, but taking into account the risky nature of games and Milošević’s previous behaviour, one could only fear for the final result. This was especially critical when the objects at stake were the lives of citizens. This interpretation is supported by other places in the text (4 and 7) which characterize politics as ‘irrational, suicidal’ and ‘politics which leads to collective suffering of the innocent and threatens the existence of the state’. The game metaphor was also connected with the rational/irrational dichotomy. Irrational people play with other people’s lives. The metaphor pointed to the collocations mentioned above connecting the irrational with politics: ‘mindless politics of confrontation with the whole world’ (*bezumna politika konfrontacije sa cijelim svijetom*) and ‘suicidal adventure’ (*samoubilačka avantura*). Metaphorical conceptualization was a powerful and effective way of distancing oneself from ‘the other’.

### 7.7.2 Truth and legality vs. lie and illegality in Politika

Referring to legislation is a well-known argumentative move that can support any ideology. In *Politika*, ‘Us’ was presented as truthful and just because it defended the country’s independence and freedom. In the terminology of Appraisal theory,

Milošević passed judgement within the social sanction category, ‘claiming that the other is immoral, unjust, brutal and untrue’. They, meaning NATO and the international community, were portrayed as threatening, trying to enter the Serbian ‘house’ and not actually aiming for equality in Kosovo. ‘We’ were thus represented as peaceful whereas ‘They’ were threatening the peaceful solution of the conflict.

US-CATEGORY IN POLITIKA	THEM-CATEGORY IN POLITIKA
4. <i>Jedinstveno opredelenje za nezavisnost i slobodu i slobodan razvoj</i> Unified devotion to independence and freedom and free development	5. <i>Vrata kroz koja je trebalo da uđu strane trupe i da dovedu u pitanje te najveće vrednosti</i> The door through which the foreign troops were supposed to enter and to threaten the biggest values
8. <i>Zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema</i> Devotion to a peaceful solution to the problem	3. <i>Strane trupe na našoj teritoriji</i> Foreign troops on our territory
11. <i>Zalaganje za ravnopravnost svih nacionalnih zajednica</i> Working for the equality of all national communities	Entailment ‘they’ are not working for the equality of all national communities
13. <i>Mi ćemo u našem nastojanju da postignemo politički sporazum i da se nastavi politički proces istrajati</i> We shall persist in our work to achieve political agreement and to continue the political process	15. <i>Izloženi pretnjama i opasnosti od napada NATO pakta</i> Exposed to the threats and dangers of a NATO attack
18. <i>Istina i pravda su na našoj strani</i> Truth and justice is on our side	Entailment: truth and justice are not on their side

Table 7.5: *Us and Them category in Politika*

The enemy was marked by the denotation ‘foreign troops on our territory’ (*strane trupe na našoj teritoriji*) and a space builder – ‘our’ (*naš*) that was constructing closeness was juxtapositioned to the adjective ‘foreign’ creating a clear binary structure. The most probable reaction evoked by this is defense.

The metaphysical distance between Us and Them was also powerfully expressed by the use of the metaphor KOSOVO IS THE DOOR that builds on the metaphor: STATES ARE CONTAINERS.

In this case Serbia was the house (container), and Kosovo represented the door into that house. The NATO was trying to enter Serbia through Kosovo conveying its threatening intent.

*Kosovo bi samo predstavljalo vrata kroz koja je trebalo da uđu strane trupe i da dovedu u pitanje upravo te najveće vrednosti [nezavisnost i slobodu]. (5)*

Kosovo would only represent the doors through which the foreign troops would enter and question exactly those biggest values [independence and freedom].



By using this metaphor, Milošević underlined the importance of protecting the entrance to one's house. He activated the fear factor through the following analogy: 'We all feel safe in our homes. We want to, and have the right to protect our home. Anybody who wants to enter our homes without our permission is committing a crime.' This metaphor implies that an enemy was entering our home, and justified our desire to protect ourselves as shown in Table 7.6.

DOMAINS	CATEGORIES		INFERENCES
	General	Specific	
SOURCE	House	Roof, windows, doors	A house consists of a number of parts that are hierarchically ordered. Roof, windows and doors are weak points.
		Doors help protect the entrance	Houses can be broken into and threatening the safety of the inhabitants.
TARGET	Serbia	Inside, borders, outside	Serbia consists of its territory and borders. Borders are weak points, and Kosovo is a weak point.
		Political crisis The enemy is entering Serbia through Kosovo	As the enemy wants to enter Serbia through Kosovo it needs to be protected. Any means are permissible to protect the territory.

Table 7.6: Metaphor STATE IS A HOUSE

The distance created between 'Us' and 'Them' followed the principles of the ideological square. We are presented as good and positive through (a) rationality in *Pobjeda* and (b) legality in *Politika*. They are presented as negative through (c) irrationality in *Pobjeda* and (d) illegality in *Politika*. These dichotomies are made more 'natural and acceptable' by being built metaphorically. Metaphors embody abstract relations and they produce, through inferences, feelings of urgency, threat and the necessity to respond to 'Them'.

## 7.8 Geopolitical entities – spatial indexicals

The perception and conception of space, distance and closeness, as mentioned earlier, play an important role in any discourse, especially political discourse. The political events of the 1990's were followed by a change in geographical borders. There were new names for new countries like Slovenia, Croatia etc. based on names of the republics, and an old name Yugoslavia was used for a resized geographical area which in 1999 consisted of Serbia and Montenegro.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>The name Yugoslavia was shorthand for several official names in different periods, like SFRY, FRY, but was used in everyday speech, and as such was important. People had to specify which Yugoslavia

The terms used in these two addresses, shown in Table 7.7 point at geo-political entities which are both physical and metaphysical entities. Rambouillet and Paris are the only geo-political entities outside of FRY introduced in *Politika* in connection with the negotiations on Kosovo. Later, Rambouillet became a term that evoked the connotation of unequal, bogus negotiations.

<i><b>POBJEDA</b></i>	<i><b>POLITIKA</b></i>
Crna Gora	----
Kosovo	Kosovo; Kosovo i Metohija; naša južna pokrajina ( <i>our sothern province</i> )
Jugoslavija	Jugoslavija
Srbija	Srbija
---	Rambuže, Pariz

*Table 7.7: Geopolitical entities in Pobjeda and Politika*

### 7.8.1 Kosovo in Politika and Pobjeda

The main reason for NATO's air war on FRY were atrocities which had been or could be committed in Kosovo. From the Serbian side, Kosovo was often appeared in the discourse as a symbolic connection with the past that was being usurped by Albanians. Thus, it is possible to differentiate between the physical and the metaphysical Kosovo. The physical Kosovo is the actual geographical space while the metaphysical Kosovo is the idea of Kosovo as the 'cradle of Serbian people', part of the Kosovo myth. Kosovo as a foundation of the Serbian 'imaginary community' (Anderson 1991) has a highly symbolic importance. In the literature Kosovo has been compared with Jerusalem and its importance for the Jews (e.g. Perica 2005). So, the geopolitical entities, i.e. geographical locations are indexicals which point to Discourse Models. Space is important in constructing an 'imaginary national community' and since the geographical space is intimately connected to history, time becomes as important.

As indivisible part of both the physical and the metaphysical Kosovo is the physical and metaphysical victimization of the people. From the Serbian side, the victims are

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they meant by using terms like 'old', 'this', 'previous', 'that', 'big', 'ex' etc. in front of Yugoslavia. Confusion reigned regarding the new meaning of Yugoslavia lasted until the country was renamed into Serbia and Montenegro in 2002.

Serbs, not only those living in Kosovo now, but Serbs from times long gone. The same applies to Albanians who feel they are the real victims who have been suppressed for a long time.

In *Pobjeda* Kosovo as a geographical location was only referred to as Kosovo.<sup>115</sup> The longer form, Kosovo and Metohija, which was connected with Milošević's government, was not used in *Pobjeda*. Kosovo was used only twice in Đukanović's speech; both times in connection with the peaceful agreement for Kosovo with no connotations to the mythical Kosovo.

In *Politika*, on the other hand, three different referentials were found: *Kosovo* (used twice in the speech), *Kosovo and Metohija* (used five times) and *our southern province* (used once). Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet in abbreviated form) was the Serbian name for the province. That name was used from 1945 to 1968. The constitutional amendments in 1968 gave the province greater autonomy, and the name changed to Kosovo. This change in amendments was considered negative by the Serbian people to be the source of their victimization (cf. Zdravković 2005). In order to change this view, the province was again renamed to Kosovo and Metohija during Milošević's rule. Accordingly, autonomy was taken away from the province, connecting it more closely to Serbia. Milošević was thus considered by some to be the leader who gave Kosovo back to Serbs, while others perceived him as the leader who took Kosovo away from the Albanians.

The noun phrase, 'our southern province', (*naša južna pokrajina*), indexed Kosovo as a part of Serbia. With its space building elements, 'our', and 'southern' it drew Kosovo closer to the readers and underlined the message that Milošević was sending: Kosovo was a part of Serbia and it was going to stay that way. It also implied the existence of other provinces, e.g. the 'northern province' being Vojvodina.

In Milošević's address, Kosovo was presented as an excuse for NATO to attack the freedom and sovereignty of the whole country. The discussion was lifted from Kosovo to the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and later even higher to the struggle between good and evil in the world. There was a trace of conspiracy theory in this: what is happening in FRY is the result of larger, usually hidden causes, connected to games on the level of the global politics.

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<sup>115</sup>The Albanian word is Kosova. Some international newspapers used Albanian form of the word and in that way showed their support for the Kosovo Albanians.

### 7.8.2 Montenegro in Pobjeda and Politika

Montenegro was mentioned seventeen times in the March 25 article in *Pobjeda*. The high frequency shows the salience Montenegro had for Đukanović and illustrates his desire to entrench the entity and differentiate/separate it from FRY. This differentiation/separation was not difficult as Montenegro was already perceived as an entity in its own right, as it was one of the two constituent republics of FRY. It was not, however, perceived as a separate country. In Đukanović's address blended references to Montenegro as 'The Republic of Montenegro' (*Republika Crna Gora*) (6) 'Republic' (*Republika*) (18) and 'Montenegro' (*Crna Gora*).

When collocated with larger geographical units, Montenegro was placed in the initial position (13, 19). It was conceptualized through the metaphor THE STATE IS A PERSON. Thus, Montenegro (7) 'did everything to prevent [Milošević's] suicidal adventure' (*učinila je sve da spriječi tu samoubilačku avanturu*), (8) 'without any guilt on the part of Montenegro' (*bez ikakve krivice Crne Gore*), (19) and Montenegro is going through 'difficult, trying moments' (*teškim trenucima iskušenja*). Montenegro stands as a metonym for the Montenegrin government. In addition to this conceptualization, Montenegro was also conceptualized as a geographical territory as bombs fell on its territory (2, 13). Being conceptualized as a person who is then bombed brings Montenegro closer to the readership and makes an emotional engagement easier for them.

Yet at the same time as Montenegro was constructed as a homogenous entity, there were several allusions to a possible lack of unity in Montenegro (19, 23 and 25, 26).

*Obraćam vam se kao predsjednik svih građana i pozivam u ovim teškim trenucima iskušenja za Crnu Goru i Saveznu Republiku Jugoslaviju na prisebnost i uzdržanost, na mir i slogu, na prevazilaženje svih svađa i podjela, koje su kroz istoriju skupo koštale Crnu Goru. (19) I address you as the president of all citizens in these difficult moments of trial for Montenegro and FRY, and I am calling for presence of mind, restraint, peace and unity, for overcoming all quarrels and divisions which, through history cost Montenegro dearly.*

*Ne dozvolite da bilo ko danas okrene Crnogorce jedne protiv drugih ili protiv bilo koga drugog, da okrene Crnogorce protiv Crne Gore, i da prolivanjem naše krvi namiruje svoje političke račune. (23)*

Don't let anybody today turn Montenegrins against each other, or against anybody else, to turn Montenegrins against Montenegro, and by spilling our blood pay their own political bills.

Sentence number (19) presupposes that quarrelling and division within Montenegro existed and that they were still possible. Đukanović was also hinting at the historical

divisions in Montenegro; divisions that were referred to in Serbian and Montenegrin media in 2006 as ‘the two Montenegros’ (*dvije Crne Gore*). One Montenegro saw itself as a part of the Serbian corpus and was in favour of sharing Serbian/Yugoslav politics, while the other Montenegro saw Montenegrins as independent and wanted to have an independent state. These are important distinctions, relating to different Discourse Models which will be analyzed further in section 7.11.2. In (23), the citizens were urged not to let anybody ‘turn Montenegrins against each other, against Montenegro, and by spilling our blood pay their political bills’ (*okrene Crnogorce jedne protiv drugih ili protiv bilo koga drugog, da okrene Crnogorce protiv Crne Gore i prolivajući našu krv naplaćuju njihove političke račune*). There the speaker hints at Milošević and the Serbian government. The opposition of ‘our blood’ and ‘their political bills’ combined emotional figurative language (spilling blood) with the emerging economic discourse (paying bills).

In propositions (25) and (26), ‘the democratic, organized and contemporary Montenegro’ (*demokratska, organizovana i moderna Crna Gora*) was foregrounded, and the existence of the opposite ‘non-democratic, chaotic and old-fashioned Montenegro’ was implied.

In his address Milošević did not mention Montenegro at all. It was a part of FRY and in order to present a unified country, Milošević did not mention it explicitly although he knew where Montenegro’s government stood politically. Some sources would attribute this ‘not speaking’ to Milošević’s leadership style of ‘never publicly revealing his ideas and intentions’ (Slapšak 2001; Veiga 2004) while he was planning to perform a military coup and remove Đukanović (see footnote number 45 about general Perišić) Milošević was also referred to as ‘our autistic leader’ in the 1990’s in Serbia (Veiga 2004; Koraksić 2001) for expecting certain problems to disappear by not talking about them (Marović 2002). Montenegro was not mentioned on the front pages of *Politika* during the NATO bombing at all. The reactions to Montenegrin politics were however strong and were presented in *Politika* on pages 10 and onwards and in evaluative media genres, such as commentaries and readers’ letters.

### 7.8.3 Serbia and Yugoslavia in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

In *Pobjeda*, Serbia and Yugoslavia were referred to as geographical entities. Serbia was mentioned once in collocation with the smaller and larger units of Kosovo and

Yugoslavia in (10) ‘Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia’, while Yugoslavia was referred to by:

- a) ‘Federal Republic of Yugoslavia’ (*Savezna Republika Jugoslavija*) (1, 12, 19) in connection with the government and Milošević,
- b) ‘federal state, Yugoslavia’ (*savezna država, Jugoslavija*) (10) or
- c) ‘country’ (*zemlja*) (27).

In collocation with Montenegro, Yugoslavia was mentioned twice. Both times Montenegro was in initial position. In both instances the situated meaning of Yugoslavia can be understood as Serbia.

*da se uzdrži od daljih udara po ciljevima u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji* (13)

‘to restrain itself from further strikes on the targets in Montenegro and Yugoslavia and

*u ovim teškim trenucima iskušenja za Crnu Goru i SRJ* (19)

‘in these difficult, trying moments for Montenegro and FRY’

In *Politika*, Milošević used Serbia once as a geographical entity in:

*zavisi budućnost Kosova i Metohije i rekao bih, čitave Srbije, jer se ovde radi o celoj zemlji, a ne samo o Kosovu i Metohiji* (14)

‘depends the future of Kosovo and Metohija, and I would say the entire Serbia, because here the question concerns the entire country, and not only Kosovo and Metohija’

Serbia could be understood here in its situated meaning of Yugoslavia as it was followed by ‘the entire country’ putting an equality sign between the Serbia and entire country. Yugoslavia was also found in collocation with its army: ‘Yugoslav army’ (*vojska Jugoslavije*) (6, 17).

This semantic resizing of the geopolitical terms of ‘Serbia’ and ‘Yugoslavia’ was thus found both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. A possible explanation for this could be Milošević’s political agenda. On several occasions he underlined that Serbia wanted to keep all Serbs, who lived as minorities in different territories like Croatia and Bosnia, united in a common country. As Montenegrins were considered Serbs by Milošević (he was Montenegrin by origin) using the terms Serbia and Yugoslavia imprecisely served to create unity, while Đukanović was more precise in order to differentiate Montenegro from Serbia.

### **7.9 Đukanović and Milošević from and on history**

People speak *from* a particular point in history and they always speak *on* history (Bloommaert 2005: 126).

Bloommaert (2005), among others, stated that discourse does not exist without historicity and he calls this ‘layered simultaneity’; discourses bear within themselves

different recognizable or non-recognizable layers.<sup>116</sup> These layers can be merged, just as computer programs manipulate photos. If you merge a photograph in, for example, PhotoShop, it is impossible to see the separate layers. In this process, called synchronization some elements are forgotten and some are remembered. That is the essence of making history and making meaning: forgetting and remembering at the same time (Zdravković 2005: 113). Čolović (2000b) points out that political communication in Serbia during the 1990's 'is largely reduced to a story'. It seems that the terms *synchronization* and *reduction to a story* address the same process from different angles. Synchronization is a reduction and a story is a suitable frame in which this happens. Čolović explains that:

a story is a suitable form of political communication because the story easily establishes connections between otherwise unconnectable people, events and ideas due to its procedures of emplotment. Further, stories can transform long history into 'narrative time' thus connecting past and present. The linguistic tools often used are: historic present ('gives the impression that past events are unfolding before our eyes') and traditional epic style ('contemporary events acquire the patina of a distant and glorious past') (Čolović 2000b: 5-7).

This is not only specific to Serbia and the Balkans. Hymes also writes about 'a narrative view of the world' (cited in Blommaert 2005: 84). The story tellers, in our case politicians, are powerful persons who by telling a story and synchronizing the history and events exercise the power of constructing reality. It is the way they synchronize the history that offers the potential for mystification. The discursive construction of identity is always concerned with narratives about the past, present and future. Mojzes (1994) suggests that time in the Balkans is 'understood mythologically rather than chronologically' and quotes a Belgrade philosopher Nebojša Popov who wrote that:

the Balkans is governed by a powerful mythomania that destroys the sense of real time. Concepts of the past and the present are so intermixed that a grievance of long ago is perceived as a present affliction.

The Montenegrin historian Andrijašević (1999) shares Popov's opinion when he points out that the Montenegrin history is mythical and explains that is due to the long struggle for independence. During that struggle history (myth) was a great support for the people with idealized pictures of the possibility of winning the unequal fight and

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<sup>116</sup>'Discourse is subject to 'layered simultaneity'. It occurs in synchronic event, but it is intertwined in several layers of 'historicity'. Some of those layers are easily recognized some are not. Synchronicity in discourse is an illusion. Synchronization is a powerful tool for merging different layers. It is used as a tactic of power.' (Blommaert 2005: 136).

struggle for independence. It bestows on the people in question a ‘special’ position making them deserve a better position than the others. According to Andrijašević mythical history became a dominant, non-dividable trait of the Montenegrin identity. These traits, says Andrijašević, are not easily altered. The reason for that is the fact that all people want to make a positive, long-lasting picture of themselves. By attacking different presentations of history, one attacks the very identity of the people. And conversely this is why it is extremely efficient to use the history (myths) to influence the people. Further, Andrijašević connects the public importance of historicity with the people’s unfinished struggle for national identity (Andrijašević 1999: 353).

Đukanović constructed his viewpoint on history from his deictic point in time and space after NATO’s bombs fell on FRY. He started his speech by taking up an evaluative stance and by summarizing events from the recent past: the country had been bombed, the government from Belgrade was responsible for the bombing; Montenegro had done everything to prevent the disaster (1-9 – linguistically realized as past tense). The rest of his address (10-28 in the present and future tense) turned from the past to the present situation with occasional layers of past events intertwined. The quarrels and divisions that (19) ‘through history cost Montenegro dearly’ (*kroz istoriju skupo koštale Crnu Goru*), i.e. a negative past was contrasted to Montenegro’s (26) ‘historical maturity’ (*istorijskom zrelošću*) and the ‘contemporary generations’ common sense’ (*razum današnjih generacija*), i.e. a positive past merged with a positive present. Given the option of making specific references to history or implying these references, Đukanović chose the latter. As the examples show it is possible to see that Đukanović referred to history in a general way - presupposing that the readers would know which periods of history to fit into his intended message (see Figure 7.8). Finally, the future was connected with positive values: reason, peace and unity (28).

References to history	Inference
26 <i>Istorijska zrelost</i> Historical maturity	We have learned from the past that we should not be divided – we are grown up now (maturity)
19 <i>...prevazilaženje svih svađa i podjela, koje su kroz istoriju skupo koštale Crnu Goru</i> to overcome all quarrels and divisions, which through history cost Montenegro dearly	Divisions between the unionists (with Serbia) and sovereignists (independent Montenegro)

Table 7.8: Đukanović on history



Milošević started his address at the point in time when the Yugoslav National Assembly rejected the Rambouillet agreement on March 23, 1999 (1-7). In sentence 8, he turned from the recent past to the present, not evaluating the present but dividing the future by parallelism: the continuing peace process and the preparations to defend the country. His formulation evoked Tito's message to the workers: 'Work as if there will be peace for ever and be prepared as if the war will start tomorrow.' (*Radimo kao da će čitav život biti mir, a budimo spremni kao da će sutra biti rat.*). Milošević did not refer to any particular point in history in this address, but he drew a parallel between the expected NATO bombing and previous experiences of conflict that Serbia/Yugoslavia had gone through with the Turks and with the Germans in the Second World War.

### **7.10 Discourse Models (DMs)**

The linguistic and semiotic resources analyzed so far point to certain Discourse Models (DMs) that the two speakers constructed. Identifying these DMs is important because they are a bridge between the 'micro levels of interaction and macro levels of institutions' (Gee 2005). The predominant DM evoked in *Pobjeda* will be called a Neutral Mediator DM and that of *Politika*, a Defense War DM. They are connected to more basic DMs of one vs. two states. The DM of FRY as one homogenous country was used by Milošević, while Đukanović balanced between the DM of Montenegro belonging to FRY and Montenegro acting on its own, thus being a separate entity. Understanding the two addresses depended upon understanding these particular DMs. As mentioned earlier, the Defense War DM and Neutral Mediator DM were foregrounded in the nucleus of the articles. Other DMs evoked in these speeches and in later material, but the focus of this study will be on these two sets of DMs as they were the ones that framed the whole conflict.

#### **7.10.1 Defense War Discourse Model**

The model Milošević was using can be summarized as Yugoslavia, 'we', are fighting a just war against the aggressor, the 'foreign troops on our territory'. The aggressor wants to enslave Us 'step by step, but very quickly; our country would lose its freedom'. The aggressor has a much stronger military than 'Us': evoking by analogy the wars with the Ottoman Empire and Germany. We are much stronger than Our enemy in Our resolve not to lose Our freedom and not to be enslaved ('our unity', 'fight for independence and freedom' 'truth and justice are on our side'). There are

some internal enemies who cooperate with the aggressors ('The Albanian separatist movement'). The defense war We are fighting is just and We must win. *Narod* the 'people' as victims is a very important element of this DM though it was not explicitly activated in the first address. The reason for this could be the fact that the address was prepared before the NATO bombing started. The victim discourse fully enters the foreground in the following days.

### 7.10.2 Neutral Mediator Discourse Model

On the other hand, Đukanović's DM could be summarized as Montenegro has the right (as an independent state) to choose a neutral position in the conflict between NATO and Yugoslavia (Serbia). Montenegro is trying to help both NATO and the federal government to resolve the conflict ('I appeal once again to the most responsible in the country and to the international community'). Relations between east and west are evoked here (the old divisions between the Soviet Union and the USA) and there is an echo of the former Yugoslav position as a founder and member of the non-aligned movement. In this neutral and at the same time active political position, Montenegro does not inhabit a helpless victim role. Victimization, which is otherwise common for both Serbian and Montenegrin discourses, is constructed differently in these different contexts. The construction of victimization is, I propose, one of the most important differences between construction of Serbia and Montenegro in the corpus.

<i><b>POLITIKA (YUGOSLAVIA/SERBIA)</b></i> <b>DEFENSE WAR DISCOURSE MODEL</b>	<i><b>POBJEDA (MONTENEGRO)</b></i> <b>NEUTRAL MEDIATOR DISCOURSE MODEL</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Modeled on: the Second World War model and Kosovo battle model</li> <li>● Participants: aggressor, victims, traitors, hero</li> <li>● Activities: fighting</li> <li>● Position: morally better than NATO; victims of stronger military power</li> <li>● Inference (expected action): defense of the country</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Modeled on: the non-alignment model</li> <li>● Participants: two conflict parties, mediator</li> <li>● Activities: mediate, preserve peace in Montenegro</li> <li>● Position: morally better than both sides</li> <li>● Inference (expected action): negotiation</li> </ul>

*Table 7.9: Discourse Models in Politika and Pobjeda*

### 7.10.3 DMs and connections with possible political actions

Each of the DMs implies one or more possible actions. If the Defense War DM is activated, one possible expected action is to defend one's country. Another possible, but very unlikely action, is to surrender to the enemy. Furthermore, if a country is

leading a just defense war, it is very difficult to admit defeat. On the other hand, if the Neutral Mediator DM is activated, one possible expected action is to negotiate with the quarreling sides and keep out of the conflict. Another possible action is to join one of the sides, but then, neutrality would be lost. As these DMs are modeled upon existing DMs, a short historic sketch will be given encompassing the period before, during and after the NATO bombing. It is important to stress again that this is a simplified version of the DM's history and that further research is needed.

### **7.10.3.1 Before the NATO-bombing**

Some elements of the Defense War DM were to be found in the Federal Assembly declaration in Belgrade on October 5, 1998. This was a period of preparation for possible NATO bombing. The Federal Assembly concluded that 'FRY will never give up any part of its territory, never betray its people, nor give up its vital state and national interests.' (Bulatović 2005: 110). Most elements of the DM were thus present: the threat from outside and the government as a protector of its people.

Parts of the Neutral Mediator DM were also evoked in the media in Montenegro prior to the NATO bombing, but as far as this analyst is aware there was no official statement at that time.

### **7.10.3.2 During the NATO bombing**

The Defense War and Neutral Mediator DMs were explicitly and implicitly present in the addresses analyzed in this chapter. After these addresses were delivered, the Yugoslav parliament proclaimed a state of war, while the Montenegrin parliament proclaimed neutrality through the 'resolution about the preservation of peace and political, national and religious tolerance in Montenegro' (*Rezolucija o očuvanju građanskog mira, političke, nacionalne i vjerske tolerancije u Crnoj Gori*), which was adopted by all parties on March 27, 1999. Proclaiming neutrality meant directly opposing the federal government, because it involved, among other measures, the introduction of the 'obligation to work' (*radna obaveza*), in direct contradiction to the army mobilization proclaimed by Belgrade.

These DMs were used during the whole period of the NATO-bombing. After the bombing stopped, Milošević once again addressed the people in a speech entitled *Narod je heroj* 'The people are the hero'. In that address he *de facto* proclaimed Yugoslavia as the winner of the war with NATO. Montenegro's president did not

proclaim either victory or defeat. Instead, he called for a redefinition of the relations between Serbia and Montenegro.

### 7.10.3.3 After the NATO-bombing

The remnants of these different ways of finding closure to the war were still noticeable both in Serbia and Montenegro during the writing of this thesis (2005-2007). Serbian society had serious problems accepting that Serbia had lost the war with NATO and thus, in practical terms, lost a part of its territory: Kosovo. Statements such as ‘the people of Serbia have to understand and accept that we lost the war with the NATO’ were often heard on talk shows on TV, showing that this had not yet been accepted.<sup>117</sup>

As for Montenegro, winning and losing were not viable outcomes because it had proclaimed itself neutral. The Montenegrin government continued to distance themselves from Serbian politics and in May 2006 Montenegro regained its independence.

## 7.11 Summary

This chapter was devoted to the initial ‘addresses to nation/citizens’ published in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. Analysis moved from micro to macro levels; from analyzing lexico-grammatical features, their situated meanings and DMs to connecting these to layers of context. It was shown that the ‘Us’ and ‘Them-categories’ constructed in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* differed. The ‘Us-category’ in the address in *Politika* consisted of the citizens and the government, including the defense forces of Yugoslavia, whereas the ‘Us-category’ in *Pobjeda* included the citizens and the government, without mentioning the defense forces of Montenegro.<sup>118</sup> The ‘Us-category’ was portrayed as unified in *Politika*, whereas in *Pobjeda* there were allusions to a possible lack of unity. While building closeness within Us-category, both politicians used similar linguistic resources: the pronouns and space builders ‘we’ and ‘ours’, the qualifier ‘all’, metaphors, and different types of lists that connected members of the Us-category as well as semiotic resources like photographs and layout. The ‘Them-categories’ in the *Politika* and *Pobjeda* consisted of different participants and their differing characterization. In *Politika*, the Them-category contained NATO led by the

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<sup>117</sup>One example of such a talk show is *Utišak nedelje* on TV B92.

<sup>118</sup>The Yugoslav army was under Milošević’s control, whereas the Montenegrin police was under Đukanović’s control.

USA and 'Albanian terrorists', whereas *Pobjeda*'s 'Them-category' was inhabited by Milošević, and NATO. The distance between *Politika* and NATO and *Pobjeda* and NATO differed drastically; in *Pobjeda* there was a sense of justifying NATO's attacks, thus making NATO closer to Montenegro and putting the blame on Milošević. The linguistic resources used for working up distance are the same as those which work up closeness.

These in- and out-groups and the relations between them point at two important DMs which were identified: the Defense War DM in *Politika* and the Neutral Mediator DM in *Pobjeda*. Although these DMs were prevalent, they were not the only ones in existence. On the contrary, they interacted with other DMs, such as the DM of one unified country (FRY) and the DM of two separate countries (Serbia and Montenegro). The importance of DMs lies in their potential to frame the construction of the conflict and in their ability to connect macro and micro levels. Indeed, the two primary DMs identified in the politicians' addresses framed the construction of the conflict in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*, i.e. they were used during the entire period of NATO bombing.

## 8. Building identities: friends and foes

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The previous chapter analyzed two addresses which offered different versions of the political reality to *Pobjeda's* and *Politika's* readers. As these addresses were given by the most important politicians, their contents and lexical choices were intertextually embedded in the rest of the corpus. *Pobjeda* and *Politika* continued building 'Us-Them' identities spatially and temporally in accordance with the DMs outlined by the political leaders at the beginning of the air war, and also continued reusing their linguistic and semantic resources. The first part of this chapter outlines the main aims of FRY and Montenegro as conceptualized in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. After that, further lexico-grammatical and metaphor analysis will show how the relations between the 'Us-Them' identities developed, with emphasis on the relation between Serbia and Montenegro. The final part of this section will turn to the changes that occurred in the two set of DMs. Where possible, connections between the DMs and the general political context or particular foreign/domestic policies will be highlighted.

### **8.1 Opposing New World Order vs. preserving Montenegro**

The main goals of Milošević's politics were described as: peace, the defense of FRY and the defense of peace and liberty in the whole world as shown in Figure 8.1.

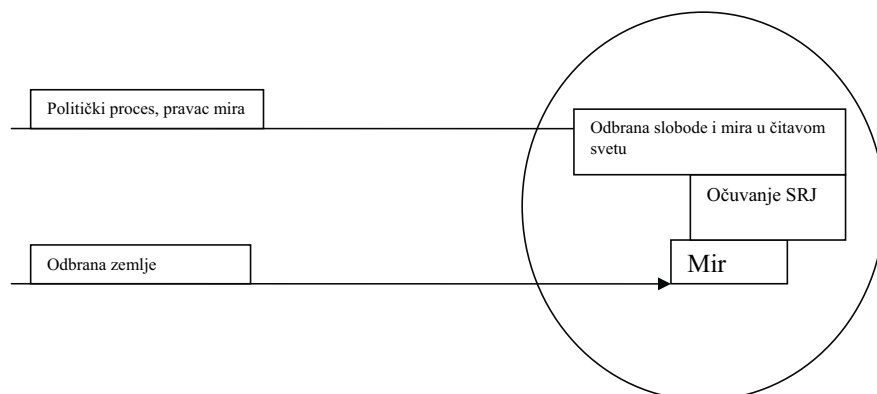


Figure 8.1: Conceptualization of a political process as a parallel movement in Politika

The defense of peace and liberty in the whole world is simultaneously a fight against the new world order of hegemony (examples below: I *a-i*). These goals were to be achieved through a parallel political process: self-defense alongside political talks (examples below: II *a-f*). The Second World War was evoked as a dark period with which the ongoing situation was compared. Using the JOURNEY METAPHOR the political process was conceptualized as movement on the right or wrong train track (II *d-e*). The NATO war was the wrong direction to take (example: II *g*).

I

*a) Zločinački napad NATO na slobodarsku Jugoslaviju uperen je protiv slobode i mira u čitavom svetu. (28/3:8) The criminal attack of NATO on freedom-loving Yugoslavia is aimed against the freedom and peace in the entire world.*

*b) ... [vojna samovolja] koja ruši sistem UN i predstavlja najozbiljniju pretnju za međunarodni mir i bezbednost u periodu od Drugog svetskog rata. (28/3:9) ...[military self-will] which destroys the system of the UN and represents the most serious threat for the international peace and security in the period after the Second World War.*

*c) Radi se o teškoj samovolji i zloupotrebi oružane moći NATO-a čime je ugrožen međunarodni mir i bezbednost, a međunarodnom poretku zadat najteži udarac posle Drugog svetskog rata. (31/3:7)*

The point is the strong self-will and misuse of the military forces of NATO by which the international peace and security are threatened, and the international movement was given the heaviest strike since the Second World War.

d) Pojava neofašizma u svetu najoštije i beskrupulozno izražava se na tlu Jugoslavije (9/5-title)

The appearance of neo-fascism in the world is expressed in a most unscrupulous way on the territory of Yugoslavia.

e) Zločini novih nacista nadmašili su one iz Drugog svetskog rata. (7/4:8)

The crimes of the neo-Nazis exceeded the ones in the Second World War.

f) Predsednik Milošević je naglasio da naša zemlja svojom odlučnom odbranom od NATO agresora brani ne samo svoju teritoriju, već i pravo drugih naroda na slobodan i samostalan razvoj i brani Evropu od američkog hegemonizma. (10/4:4)

President Milošević stressed that our country by firmly defending itself from the NATO aggressor defends not only its own territory, but also the rights of other people to free and independent development and defends Europe from American hegemony.

g) Odlučna odbrana našeg naroda, kao i osuda NATO agresora od strane celog slobodoljubivog sveta pokazuje da politika sile i hegemonizma, od kojeg se u Jugoslaviji brani ne samo sloboda našeg naroda, već i Evropa, nema perspektivu. (14/4:5)

The decisive defense by our people, as well as the judgment that the whole of the freedom loving world passed over NATO, shows that the politics of the power and hegemony, against which not only the freedom of our people in Yugoslavia, but also that of Europe, is defended, has no perspective.

h) Predsednik Milošević je izrazio uverenje da će borba našeg naroda za slobodu, istinu i pravdu odneti pobedu nad silama, koje žele ne samo da okupiraju našu zemlju, već i da slobodnim narodima i zemljama nametnu diktat i potčinjavanje. (15/4:4)

President Milošević expressed his belief that the struggle of our people for freedom, truth and justice will win over the powers which not only want to occupy our country, but also want to bring free peoples and countries under their rule and power.

i) Jednodušna ocena sve tri strane je da je opredeljenje za mir od vitalnog značaja ne samo za Jugoslaviju već i za ceo region i celu Evropu. (4/6:6)

It is commonly evaluated by all three sides that desire for peace is of vital importance not only for Yugoslavia but also for the entire region and the whole of Europe.

## II

a) Rešenje [problema na Kosovu], dakle može da bude samo političko, a ne kroz hiljade tona bombi. (31/3:14)

The solution [of the Kosovo problem], thus, can be only political, and not through thousands of tons of bombs.

b) Na Kosovu i Metohiji jača i učvršćuje se jedinstven stav Srba i Albanaca za politički proces i uverenje da se problemi uspešno i trajno mogu rešiti samo političkim sredstvima (4/4:9)



On Kosovo and Metohija, the united attitude of Serbs and Albanians towards political process and the conviction that the problems can be successfully and permanently solved only by political means, is growing stronger and more stable.

*c) Politički proces će se realizovati na osnovama ravnopravnosti svih nacionalnih zajednica, što je ključ trajnog i pravednog političkog rešenja na Kosovu i Metohiji. (4/4:10)*

The political process will be realized on the basis of the equality of all national communities, and that is the key to a permanent and just political solution for Kosovo and Metohija.

*d) povratak na politički kolosek (11/5:B5)*

return to the political track

*e) rešavanje problema bez ikakvog odlaganja sa vojnog bude prevedeno na politički kolosek. (28/5:5)*

the solution to the problems should be transferred without delay from the military track should be transferred to the political track.

*f) U borbi za svoju slobodu naš narod će izdržati teškoće i savladati iskušenja, naglasio je predsednik Milošević ističući da su dva naša glavna zadatka koje ćemo uspešno ostvariti – prvo da odbranimo svoju zemlju i drugo, da se uporno borimo za mirno političko rešenje. (7/4:10)*

In its fight for freedom, our people will endure difficulties and conquer challenges, president Milošević stressed, highlighting our two main tasks which we will fulfill successfully: first to defend our country and second, to fight persistently for a peaceful political solution.

*g) Prekid agresije NATO i mirno rešenje je od najvećeg značaja i za budućnost Balkana, koji se nalazi na pragu nove eksplozije. (31/3:25)*

The cessation of the NATO aggression and a peaceful solution is of the greatest importance also for the future of the Balkans, which is on the threshold of a new explosion.

In *Pobjeda*, the main goals of Đukanović's politics were identified as: the preservation of Montenegro, peace and cooperation with the international community as shown in Figure 6.6 (examples below: I a, b, d, f, g, h.). The correct metaphorical road to achieving those goals was described as political and as a road of compromises (examples below: Ie). Two wrong roads or dead ends were defined as NATO's war and Milošević's politics of conflict with the whole world (example below: Ic).

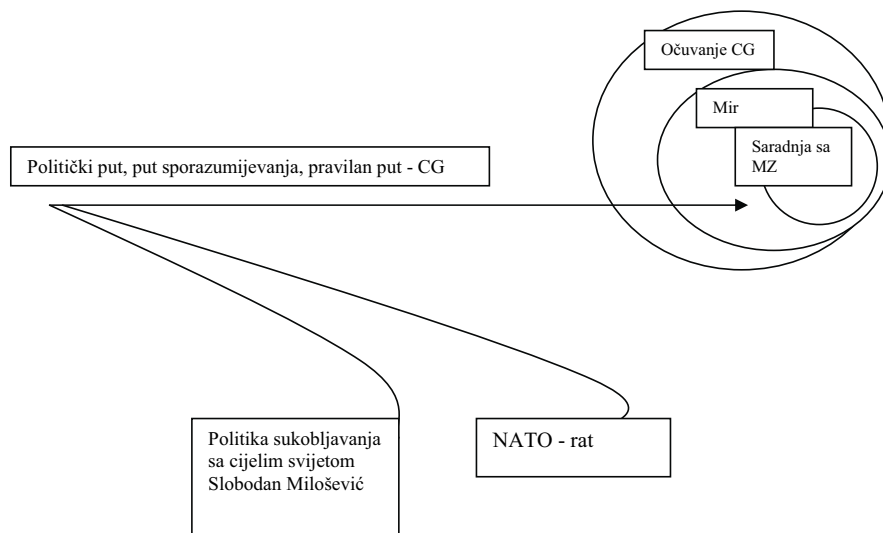


Figure 8.2: Conceptualization of a political process as movement on a road in Pobjeda

I

a) Naglašena je i dalja obaveza svih državnih organa i političkih subjekata da djeluju u skladu sa svojim odgovornostima, i da daju maksimalan doprinos očuvanju mira i sigurnosti građana, dobrih međunacionalnih odnosa, i normalnom funkcionisanju privrednog i ukupnog života. (28/3:5)

The duty of all government and political subjects to act in accordance with their responsibilities was stressed, and to give their maximum to preserve peace and the security of citizens, good relations among nationalities and the normal functioning of the economy and life in general.

b) da očuvaju Crnu Goru i da doprinesu uspostavljanju mira u cijeloj našoj državi. (2/4:7)

in order to preserve Montenegro and contribute to the establishment of peace in our whole country.

c) Upućen je apel da se prestane sa NATO udarima na Jugoslaviju, jer se teški kosovski problem ne može riješiti ničijom silom, kao i najodgovornijim u Jugoslaviji da se vrate miroljubivom procesu o Kosovu. (2/4:9)

An appeal was sent in order to stop NATO strikes on Yugoslavia, because the difficult Kosovo problem cannot be solved by using anybody's power, and one to the most responsible in Yugoslavia in order to return to a peaceful process in Kosovo.

d) misiji očuvanja onoga što nam je najpreče i najsvetlije u ovom trenutku – očuvanje mira, građanske stabilnosti u Crnoj Gori i dobrih međunacionalnih odnosa. (2/4:B1)

mission of preserving that which is the most important and holiest in this moment – the preservation of peace, civil stability in Montenegro and good relations among the nationalities.

e) *od prvog dana tvrdili da se kosovski problem može rješavati samo političkim putem, putem sporazumijevanja, a ne primjenom stile (2/4:B7)*

from the first day, we have been asserting that the Kosovo problem can be solved only via a political road via the road of understanding and not by using force.

f) *uvjeren da će Crna Gora kao i mnogo puta u istoriji, znati da sebe zaštititi, da zaštiti svoju državnost, svoje dostojanstvo i demokratsku tekovinu koju smo u međuvremenu stekli. (4/4:9)*

I am convinced that Montenegro, as many times before in its history, will know how to protect itself, to protect its statehood, its dignity and democracy, which we in the meantime have achieved.

g) *Vjerujem u jedan narasli demokratski pokret u Crnoj Gori, u samopouzdanje Crnogoraca, koji su uvijek u istoriji znali da zaštite svoje dostojanstvo i svoju državu, i koji će i u ovom trenutku znati da zaštite i svoju državnost i svoju demokratiju, rekao je pored ostalog predsjednik Milo Đukanović. (4/4:B5)*

I believe in a growing democratic movement in Montenegro, in the self-confidence of Montenegrins, who in history always knew how to protect their dignity, their own state, and who will in this moment know how to protect its statehood and its democracy, president Milo Đukanović said, among other things.

h) *Rukovodstvo i državni organi Crne Gore, koja je okrenuta integracijama i povezivanju sa svijetom... (16/4:11)* The leadership and government organs of Montenegro, which is turned towards the integration and connection with the world

Both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* used the analogy of a JOURNEY metaphor with a scenario that can be described through the following points, (cf. Musolf 2004):

- a) A political process is a journey that proceeds from a departure point towards a goal/destination along a specific path or, as in one of the above cases, two paths.
- b) Political developments hindering the implementation of the political process are obstacles on the path or wrong paths leading to dead-ends.
- c) Participants in a political process are participants in a journey, travelling together along one or more paths.
- d) The participants' degree of participation in the political process is the speed with which they travel.

The journey in *Politika* was done by train (*kolosek*), while the journey in *Pobjeda* was done by car or on foot (*putem*). Both metaphors are used often in political discourse. It is possible that the train metaphor was chosen by Milošević as it suits the double track conceptualization than does a road metaphor.

## 8.2 Building alliances

In parallel with the NATO bombing, the linguistic and semiotic work on building alliances continued both in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. Building alliances among countries was conceptualized as becoming friends with people, based on the metaphor STATES ARE PERSONS and the scenario PERSONS CAN BE FRIENDS. The conceptual mappings of a friendship metaphor include (cf. Musolff 2004):

- a) A nation state is a person
- b) Two or more states co-operating are friends
- c) Two or more states not co-operating are enemies

Scenarios of this metaphor contain the following implications:

- a) Good friends help and protect each other
- b) Good friends do not betray each other
- c) Good friends always stay good friends.

Having more friends makes a person stronger, and having the ‘right’ friends is important as one can be judged by the kind of friends one has.<sup>119</sup> The stronger one’s friends, the better. These types of relations among friends were mapped onto relations among states. Building the identities of friendly states was done in contrast to building the identities of unfriendly states and their deeds. Further, the creation of identities for friendly states, simultaneously created the identities of FRY and Montenegro. FRY and Montenegro were mirroring themselves in their friends as well as in their enemies.

### 8.2.1 Us-category = in-group

Two of the main protagonists in the Us-category in the initial addresses were *narod* and *građani*. As mentioned in the previous section that these indexicals were important as they pointed to different DMs. *Narod* and *građani* continued to be important participants in the rest of the corpus. The development of these participants will now be tracked by analyzing their frequency of use and their collocations in the rest of the material. Special attention will be given to texts that use these concepts particularly frequently. Possible connections between the frequency of use, collocations and the political events will be pointed out.

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<sup>119</sup>There is a saying in Serbian (and other languages as well) that goes: ‘Tell me who your friends are and I’ll tell you who you are.’ *Kaži mi ko su ti prijatelji pa ću ti reći kakav si ti.*

### 8.2.1.1 Narod and građani

Frequency analysis<sup>120</sup> of the terms *narod* and *građani*, suggested a tendency for *Politika* to use *narod* more often than *Pobjeda*, and *Pobjeda* to use *građani* more often than *Politika* (see Appendix 8, Table 1 and Table 2). This finding was consistent with the hypothesis from the previous chapter that *narod* pointed to a Defense War DM and *građani* to a Neutral Mediator DM. Again, it is important to underline that this is a tendency, rather than a clear cut case. To get a more comprehensive impression of the reporting further textual elements such as traditionalisms<sup>121</sup>, agency and modality must be included in the analysis.

The most frequent use of *narod* in *Politika* was noted in articles on 31/3, 7/4, 21/4, 7/5, 11/5 and 11/6, and in *Pobjeda* on 5/6 and 11/6. The topics in *Politika* in which the use of *narod* peaked were: meetings with a Russian political leader (Primakov), a Greek leader, a Russian religious leader, and Chinese representatives (in connection with the bombing of the Chinese embassy) and in the final address to the citizens after the bombing had stopped. The two articles in *Pobjeda* in which usage of *narod* peaked concerned a meeting with religious leaders and the address to the citizens on June 11.

All of the topics in *Politika*, be it the description of friendly nations' view on religious topics or the direct addresses to the people, offered a close interpersonal, emotional connection with the readership. That connection was achieved by more frequent use of *narod* in addition to the use of traditionalisms like 'defense against aggressor' (*odbrana od agresora*), 'peace' (*mir*), 'security' (*bezbednost*), 'hero' (*heroj*), 'defend and succeed in defending the country', (*branim o i odbranimo zemlju*), 'freedom' (*sloboda*), 'sovereignty' (*suverenitet*), 'territorial integrity' (*teritorijalni integritet*), 'national dignity' (*nacionalno dostojanstvo*), 'equality' (*ravnopravnost*) and 'independence' (*nezavisnost*).

In the two articles in *Pobjeda*, the term *narod* was also used to achieve closer, emotional connection with the readership, but the traditionalisms were absent. On the

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<sup>120</sup>The quantitative analysis done here is performed manually and it is meant to show certain tendencies, not exact measuring. The number of times each term was used was counted without taking into account the length of the texts or the positioning of the terms on the front page.

<sup>121</sup>Traditionalisms are 'words which in collective consciousness have the status of the symbols of high emotional and motivational value – freedom (*sloboda*), dignity (*dostojanstvo*), liberation (*oslobođenje*), patriotism (*patriotizam*), fireplace (*ognjište*), home (*dom*), fatherland/homeland (*otadžbina/domovina*) struggle (*borba*), freedom fighter (*borac*), bravery (*junaštvo*), honesty (*čast*), the weak (*nejač*) etc.' (Gredelj 1996: 149)

other hand the term *demokratija* appeared more often (see 8.11.6.2 for more on *demokratija*).

### 8.2.1.2 Narod in Politika

Noting the differences in frequency of the term *narod* leads to the question of how was *narod* described in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. Was it construed as a victim or as having individual or collective responsibility? Did the newspapers convey an authoritative relationship with *narod* or a relationship of solidarity?

In *Politika*, *narod* appeared most frequently in collocations with:

- a) 'Our' (*naš*) and 'all' (*sav/cio*): 'our people' (*naš narod*), 'all people' (*sav/cio narod*)
- b) 'Armed forces' (*oružane sile*): 'the unity of people and the armed forces' (*jedinstvo naroda i oružanih sila*), (examples are found in articles published on the following dates: 27/3, 28/3, 30/3, 31/3, 1/6)

*Narod* was conceptualized both as victim and as hero; both as an active and a passive entity (see Appendix 8, Table 3). When seen as victims *narod* was linguistically conceptualized through (a) the use of the passive: 'exposed to' (*izložen*), 'is done' (*se vrši*); and (b) the adverbs 'against', 'over', 'on' (*protiv, nad, na*) 'the crime that is committed on the people' (*zločin koji se vrši nad narodom*), 'the aggression directed against the people' (*agresija uperena protiv naroda*)

When *narod* was conceptualized as defenders of the country it was done through: (a) the active voice, 'defends', 'lead the fight', 'fights', 'is decisive' (*brani, vodi borbu, bori se, je odlučan*), 'will endure', 'will defend its freedom' (*će izdržati, će odbraniti svoju slobodu*); and (b) noun phrases: 'tradition of freedom' (*slobodarska tradicija*), 'resistance of the people' (*otpor naroda*), 'decisive defense' (*odlučna odbrana*), 'defense of the fatherland' (*odbrana otadžbine*), 'freedom loving spirit of the people' (*slobodarski duh narod*), and 'people-hero' (*narod-heroj*).

In addition, the active position of the *narod* was achieved by connecting it with the army. The army gave power and protection to the *narod*. The connection between *narod* and the army was explicitly shown with the noun – 'unity of people and army' (*jedinstvo naroda i armije*). It is possible to see an overlapping of two main intended images of *narod*, firstly *narod* as victims, and secondly *narod* as heroes (see Appendix 8, Table 3). These two images are further set in opposition due to the evocation of the notion of activity in heroes and passivity in victims. The function of

such double imaging was described by Marković (1999: 206) who connected the emerging nationalism in the former Yugoslavia (1987-1991) with writings about Serbs as victims. The insistence on people being exploited, suffering and being victims homogenized and mobilized the nation and boosted the political elite that was in power at the time. But in order to mobilize the nation it was necessary to write about Serbs as heroes as well. Marković believes that the combination of these two conceptualizations was explosive and was a recipe for war. The victimization of *narod* has been a returning motif during the period after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Its meaning was constructed in context, so that in Serbian discourse, victimization was connected with the Second World War. As the Serbs were victims in the war, so they are now presented as victims who are aware of their position and want to change their own status. Victimization was thus used politically to legitimize various political moves by the government and to make people act in a certain way, for example, in this case, to resist the enemy even though the enemy was so much stronger.

### 8.2.1.3 Narod in Pobjeda

In *Pobjeda*, *narod* appeared most frequently in collocations with:

a) ‘Our’ (*naš*) and ‘whole’ (*čitav*): ‘our people’ (*naš narod*); ‘whole people’ (*čitav narod*)

b) ‘The leadership and people of Montenegro’ (*rukovodstvo i narod Crne Gore*)

As in *Politika*, *narod* was presented as both active and passive and as victims. However, although *narod* is also presented as the victim, it is not given the position of hero in *Pobjeda* (see Appendix 8, Table 4).

The victimhood of *narod* in *Pobjeda* was conceptualized through the use of (a) the passive voice, ‘heavy wounds were inflicted’ (*nanesene su krupne rane*). It was not explicit by whom the wound were inflicted, but from the context one could deduce that it was both Milošević and NATO who inflicted the wounds, making agency inferable across sentences (cf. O'Halloran 2003: 155); and (b) nouns, ‘trouble’ (*nevolja*), ‘suffering’ (*stradanje*), ‘tragic consequences’ (*tragične posljedice*), and ‘dying’ (*pogibija*).

In *Pobjeda*’s case, victimization was connected with the narrative of internal struggle between the democratic Montenegrin leadership and the autocratic Milošević. The

connection between the Montenegrin leadership and *narod* gave *narod* political legitimacy and in that way empowered it.

*Rukovodstvo i narod Crne Gore čine vanredne napore da očuvaju mir, stabilnost i međunarodni sklad u postojećim uslovima. (17/4)*

The leadership and the people of Montenegro are making extraordinary efforts in order to maintain peace, stability and balance among the nationalities in the existing conditions.

At the same time the political leadership was in service to the people 'following the interest of our people' (*slijedimo interes našeg naroda*) and in that way it empowered itself. The connection between the army and *narod* that was found in *Politika* did not appear in *Pobjeda*. This seems logical given the context - the army was federal and opposed to the political leadership of Montenegro.

### 8.2.1.4 Građani in Politika: Passive with responsibility

*Građani* were portrayed as passive participants in *Politika*, while the state was presented as taking care of citizens' interests:

*a) Predsednik Milošević je ocenio da se i u oblasti bezbednosti, ali i drugim oblastima rada u javnom sektoru uspešno sprovode propisane mere i vodi briga o bezbednosti i interesima građana. (27/3:6)*

President Milošević evaluated that in the area of safety, but also in other areas of work in the public sector, written measures are successfully conducted and care is taken about security and the citizens' interest.

*b) Ostvaruje se visok stepen povezanosti i usklađivanja aktivnosti, kojima se rešavaju pitanja od vitalnog interesa za odbranu zemlje, život i rad građana. (1/4:6)*

A high level of connection and balancing of activities is being achieved, with which questions of vital interest for the defense of the country, life and work of citizens, is solved.

*c) Jugoslavija vodi pravednu borbu, brani sve svoje građane, bez obzira na nacionalnu i versku pripadnost od zločinačkih napada i neće se odreći svoje zemlje i slobode. (2/4:6)*

Yugoslavia is leading a just fight, defending its citizens, regardless of their nationality or religion, from criminal attacks and it will not give up its country and freedom.

*d) Na sastanku su razmotrena i druga pitanja od značaja za život građana i ostvarivanje zadataka u oblasti privrede i javnih službi. (11/4:7)*

In the meeting, other questions of importance for the life of citizens are considered and accomplishing the tasks in area of economy and public services.

*e) Predsednik Milošević je rekao da ovako veliko jedinstvo na najbolji način izražava očekivanje i interes građana Jugoslavije, njihovu podršku i značaj koji pridaju ovom velikom istorijskom koraku na putu integracije i jačanja stabilnosti, bezbednosti i mira na pragu novog veka. (13/4:3)*

President Milošević said that such a great unity in the best way expresses the expectation and interest of the citizens of Yugoslavia, their support and the importance which they place on



this big historical step on the way to integration and strengthening the stability, security and peace on the threshold of the new century.

*f) Konstatovano je da samo političko rešenje može doneti trajan mir i stabilnost, što je zajednički interes svih građana Jugoslavije. (30/4:8)*

It was established that only a political solution can bring lasting peace and stability, which is a common interest of all citizens of Yugoslavia.

*g) Stvorena je struktura koja uz prestanak agresije može da uspešno pomogne svim građanima da se vrate svojim kućama. (5/5:6)*

A structure is made which in addition to the cessation of aggression can successfully help all citizens to return to their homes.

In a smaller number of cases, *građani* were given agency in that they were responsible for defending of the country.

*a) naglo opao broj krivičnih dela, što takođe, predstavlja izraz povećane brige i odgovornosti svih građana u funkciji odbrane zemlje. (27/3:3)*

suddenly the number of crimes dropped, which represents an expression of a growing worry and responsibility of all citizens in the function of defense of the country.

*b) Građani Jugoslavije jednodušni su u svojoj rešenosti da ni po koju cenu ne dozvole neprijateljima da im okupira zemlju. (28/3:6)*

The citizens of Yugoslavia are of one heart in their resolution that regardless of the price, they will never allow enemies to occupy their country.

It was noted above that *narod* had an emotional connotative value that was not present in *građani*. An example which supports this statement is found in the collocations. While *narod* defended 'the fatherland' (*otadžbina*), *građani* were involved in defending 'the country' (*zemlja*). The combination of *građani* defending the *otadžbina* is not found and it sounds unusual. In addition, *građani* were also constructed as passive more often than active.

### 8.2.1.5 Građani in Pobjeda: Passive with obligations

In *Pobjeda*, *građani* were either presented as passive or as having obligations and responsibility. When they were passive, *građani* were receiving help from the government:

*a) Samo takva, Crna Gora mira i vjerskog i nacionalnog saglasja može pomoći svim svojim građanima i svojim sunarodnicima u Srbiji, na Kosovu i u Jugoslaviji... (2/4:8)*

Only this way, can a Montenegro of peace and religious and national agreement, can help all its citizens and its compatriots in Serbia, in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia...

b) Uz potpunu spremnost nadležnih organa da se efikasno suprotstave bilo kakvim pokušajima izazivanja nereda, ugrožavanja sigurnosti građana i primarnih državnih i nacionalnih interesa Crne Gore. (17/4:27)

With the full readiness of the responsible organs to efficiently stand against any attempt to provoke disorder, endanger citizens' security and the primary state and national interests of Montenegro.

When they had obligations, *građani* were supposed to preserve the peace and their country.

a) Istaknuto je da je očuvanje građanskog mira i nacionalne i vjerske tolerancije u Crnoj Gori i šire u Jugoslaviji, danas vrhovna obaveza svih naših građana, svih državnih organa i političkih subjekata, svih vjerujućih, kao i starješina i sveštenstva svih vjerskih zajednica u našoj Republici. (2/4:5)

It was stressed that the perservation of citizens' peace and of national and religious tolerance in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, is today the main obligation of all our citizens, all state organs and political subjects, all believers, and the leaders of all religious communities in our Republic.

b) Kao što je nepokolebljiva i spremnost građana da sačuvaju svoju državu... (17/4:28)

As well as the unshakable readiness of citizens to preserve their state ...

c) Zbog toga su njeno državno rukovodstvo, svi politički i drugi subjekti, kao i ogromna većina njenih građana maksimalno posvećeni očuvanju mira i stabilnosti u našoj Republici. (28/4:11)

Because of that, the government leadership, all political and other subjects as well as the majority of its citizens, are maximally devoted to perservation of peace and stability in our Republic.

### Victimization

Constructing the nation as a victim is a well-known strategy in moving people to act against a constructed, threatening enemy. The Serbian narrative of victimhood has been connected to different historic narratives, depending on the context. During the 1990's, the Second World War narrative, in which Serbs were the ones who were persecuted and killed, and in which they inhabited the victim role was exploited to the maximum. Reminded about their victim experience by the leadership, the Serbian people took an active part in preventing themselves from becoming victims once again. Accordingly, the new victim role was somewhat different from the unsuspecting victim role during the Second World War. This new role was that of a victim conscious of his/her role and able to change somethingby, for example, making

pre-emptive strikes on a known enemy.<sup>122</sup> The victim status of the Serbs was once again confirmed during the NATO bombing. Again, the role was that of a conscious victims who had agency since they were able to protect themselves. In other words it was a kind of pre-emptive victimization because they saw themselves as victims before the victimhood became established; they could act to avoid becoming defenseless victims once again.

In Montenegro the victims were connected to the narrative of the political struggle between democracy and autocracy and the internal struggle between two member republics, the larger Serbia and the smaller Montenegro. In this case the victims were also conscious of the danger represented by Milošević, and were thus encouraged to act before it was too late. The victims were constructed in context, and their construction was flexible. There is no real contradiction in presenting victims as both active and passive, as each of the characteristics can be foregrounded when necessary to stir the people into action.

### 8.2.2 Friends of FRY (Serbia) in *Politika*

In order to prove that the country or the politician himself is objective, credible and reliable and that his opinions are true, some evidence was necessary. One type of evidence was referring to authority figures and institutions (in this case political figures and governments) that were able to vouch for FRY's credibility. The more powerful the figures and institutions, the more powerful the evidence they presented.

In the corpus, the Us-category in *Politika* was inhabited by new members from abroad. Those were China, Russia, Greece, Belorussia, Hungary, Germany, Italy and Japan.<sup>123</sup> The representatives from these countries were all either visiting Milošević or talking to him on the phone. All representatives were portrayed as representing all their people, so terms such as the Russian people, the Chinese people etc., were consistently in used. Actually, the representatives varied in their importance from high

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<sup>122</sup>This view is inspired by comments given by the researcher Milan Subotić at a meeting in the Institute of Philosophy and Social Science, 30/10/2007.

<sup>123</sup>Chinese people (30/3, telephone call from the president Jijan Tze Min; 11/5), Russian people (31/3 Primakov visiting; 8/4 the president of Duma visiting; 21/4), Greek people (2/4 the representatives from Greek Orthodox Church; 7/4 the leader of the left coalition; 14/4 the representatives of seven Greek political parties; 07/5; 22/5), Russian and Belorussian people (3/4 a delegation from Federal Duma of Russia and Belorussia; 15/4 the president of Belorussia - Lukashenko), German people (Gregory Gizi, German Democratic Socialist Party: 15/4:B), Hungarian people (9/4 the president of Hungarian Labour party), Italian people (10/4 the president of the Communist Party of Italy), and Japanese delegation (2/6, a representative of the Liberal Democratic Party Takashi Kosugi).

level representatives, as in the case of Russia (31/3, 21/4), to less high level politicians, like the representatives of certain political parties from Greece and Germany (7/4, 14/4, 15/4: B). But that information was backgrounded and the importance of lower level politicians was upgraded.

All friendly nations were described in similar, only positive terms through:

- Nominal phrases like ‘friendly peoples’ (*prijateljski narodi*), ‘distinguished politician/leader’ (*istaknuti političar/lider*), ‘proven friend’ (*osvedočeni prijatelj*), ‘high representatives’ (*visoki predstavnici*), ‘high guests’ (*visoki gosti*), ‘distinguished guest’ (*ugledni gost*), and ‘in hearty and friendly conversation’ (*u srdačnom i prijateljskom razgovoru*).
- Or propositions framed as Milošević’s judgements:
  - a) ‘our people highly treasure the attitude of [Chinese, Russian etc.] people toward our just struggle’ (*naš narod visoko ceni stav [kineskog, ruskog itd.] naroda prema našoj pravednoj borbi*)
  - b) ‘Milošević thanked [Chinese, Russian etc.] people for their solidarity with the people of Yugoslavia’ (*Milošević je zahvalio [kineskom, ruskom itd.] narodu na solidarnosti sa narodom Jugoslavije*)
  - c) ‘Showing the honour to [Chinese, Russian etc.] people, the president...’) (*Odajući priznanje [kinsekom, ruskom itd. Narodu] predsednik je...*).

The positive evaluation of these visits was supported by photographs which documented all these visits. The photograph captions identified the participants on the photographs, either in general terms such as ‘guests from Russia’ (see Appendix 8, Table 5: *a, c, d, e, f, g, s* and *v*) or in specific terms naming the guests (see Appendix 8, Table 5: *b, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, t, u, w, y*). President Milošević was always placed in the initial position.

The generic pattern that *Politika* used in news articles describing the activities of the friendly nations had the following elements:

- a) Guests were received by Milošević
- b) Guests were given the opportunity to voice their ‘condemnation of NATO aggression’
- c) Guests were given an opportunity to give their support for the ‘just fight for freedom’ that FRY was leading
- d) Milošević commented on friendly nations’ views in positive terms

e) Milošević gave his own view of the situation.

The importance of being the leader to whom others come was semiotically supported with photographic documents and evidence.<sup>124</sup> Both the number of photographs and Milošević's position on them showed the power relations (see Chapter 6). The photographs and the verbal text were in a relation both of extension (similarity and complement) with the added value of photographs as verification of truthfulness.

The wordings ascribed to the friendly nations were identical to the wordings *Politika* used when giving voice to Milošević. All the voices by friendly nations were merged with the voices of Milošević the Yugoslav government and *Politika* (see Appendix 8, Table 6).

### 8.2.3 Friends of Montenegro in Pobjeda

The same process of inhabiting the 'Us-category' with friendly nations was happening in *Pobjeda* during the NATO-bombing. The differences were the countries that were presented as friends. In *Pobjeda*, the friendly countries were: Russia, Norway, Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain, Macedonia and the organizations UN, USA and EU.<sup>125</sup> Some of the representatives from the United Nations visited Montenegro, and Đukanović traveled extensively to visit the political leaders in Germany, Austria, France, Brussels and London. That Đukanović was on the political offensive was partially played down in the media in their emphasis that he had been invited to visit these politicians. This also worked up Đukanović's importance.

- a) upon whose invitation he arrived in Bonn (*na čiji je poziv stigao u Bon*) (12/5:2)
- b) the president of the Republic Montenegro expected the invitation of the chief of German diplomacy, Joschka Fischer (*predsjednik Republike Crne Gore odazvao se pozivu šefa njemačke diplomatije Joške Fišera*) (12/5:3)
- c) upon the invitation by the EU chair (*na poziv predsjedavajućeg Evropske unije*) (18/5:1)
- d) upon the invitation by the president of the Republic Macedoina Kiro Gligorov (*na poziv predsjednika Republike Makedonije Kira Gligorova*) (2/6:1)

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<sup>124</sup>It is considered positive for a leader that other important leaders come to visit him. A Serbian saying 'To come to somebody's feet.' *Dolaziti nekome na noge*, underlines that if somebody comes to a leader, they show how big and important that leader is.

<sup>125</sup>Russia, (19/4; 24/4; 26/4;) but critical towards Savez 14/4, Norway (6/5, a delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Bronebakk), UN 8/5 Anna Bonnino; 10/5 Mary Robinson, the high commissioner for human rights; 11/5 the UN representative for refugees, Germany, 12/5 (Schröder in Bonn), Austria 14/5 (chancellor Viktor Klima in Vienna), France 15/5; 16/5 (Chirac and Jospin in Paris), EU 17/5; 18/5 (a meeting with chiefs of diplomacy in Brussels), Great Britain 26/5 (Blair in London), Macedonia (2/6 Kiro Gligorov), USA, Madeleine Albright.

The friendly nations were described as:

- a) Supporting Montenegro's 'politics and democracy' because Montenegro was perceived as being against Milošević (see Appendix 8, Table 7: *a, d, e, g, i, j, l*)
- b) Promising financial help to Montenegro if it continued with its 'democratic politics' (see Appendix 8, Table 7: *b, c, f, h, k, m*)

The friendly nations voiced their support explicitly. The positive evaluation of these visits was supported by photographs which showed Đukanović with the political leaders.

The photograph captions identified the participants on the photographs, the time and the place of the meetings. In addition to situating the photograph in time and place in four cases there was an evaluative message, written in capital letters, which connected the participants on the photographs with the messages from the articles (examples *a, c, e* and *f*). This type of 'messages' was absent in *Politika*. President Đukanović was placed in initial position in the captions identifying the participants on the photographs, except in one case (example *j*) where Madeleine Albright was put in initial place, possibly because she is female, but most probably because she was a powerful political figure. Mary Robinson (example *a*) was also female, but was not given the initial position.

- a) NAGLAŠEN ZNAČAJ PREDSTOJEĆE KONFERENCIJE O BALKANU: Predsjednik Đukanović i Meri Robinson tokom jučerašnjeg razgovora (10/5)*
- b) PREDSJEDNIK ĐUKANOVIĆ I IZASLANIK MAKNAMARA PRILIKOM JUČERAŠNJEG SUSRETA (11/5)*
- c) OKONČANJE SVIH OBLIKA NASILJA – ŠTO PRIJE: Predsjednik Milo Đukanović i kancelar Gerhard Šreder tokom jučerašnjeg susreta u Bonu (12/5)*
- d) PREDSJEDNIK MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ I KANCELAR VIKTOR KLIMA JUČE U BEČU (14/5)*
- e) DO MIRA ŠTO HITNIJE: Predsjednik Đukanović i Širak juče na ulazu u Jelisejsku palatu (15/5)*
- f) RAZUMNA POLITIKA: CRNOGORSKI PREDSJEDNIK ĐUKANOVIĆ I FRANCUSKI PREMIJER ŽOSIM JUČE U PARIZU (16/5)*
- g) Predsjednik Milo Đukanović juče u Briselu sa Joškom Fišerom i Hansom van Den Brukom (18/5)*
- h) MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ I TONI BLER TOKOM JUČERAŠNJEG SUSRETA (26/5)*
- i) Milo Đukanović i Kiro Gligorov, juče prilikom susreta u Skoplju (2/6)*
- j) MEDLIN OLBRAJT I MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ JUČE U KELNU (10/6)*

(Note: the capital letters were used by *Pobjeda*, emphasis (underlining> has been added)

The wordings ascribed to the friendly nations were identical with the wordings *Pobjeda* used when giving voice to Đukanović (see Appendix 8, Table 7).



Figure 8.3: Friendly nations in *Politika* (left) and in *Pobjeda* (right)

Figure 8.3 shows that the friends presented in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* followed the contours of the old divisions between East and West. On one side there are China and Russia, and on the other France, Great Britain and USA. Russia was also claimed as a friend of Montenegro, but communication with Russia primarily went through FRY/Serbia. Other countries were less important, but nevertheless, the more countries that support one's view, the better. Both Milošević and Đukanović came from the Communist party, but after Đukanović cooled relations with Milošević he started building his identity as a democratic leader – aligning himself with Western Europe and democracy. This is visible in his choice of friends as well.

## 8.2.4 Developing Us and Them

### 8.2.4.1 NATO vs. Us in Politika

NATO was constructed as the main member in *Politika*'s Them-category. It appeared in collocation with the USA, 'NATO led by the USA' (NATO *predvođen Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama*), thus explicitly blaming the USA for NATO's actions. NATO was violating the values of freedom, truth, justice and independence that were ascribed to the Us-category (25/3, 26/3, 27/3, 28/3, 1/4, 15/4, 21/4, 11/5).<sup>126</sup> The Us-category was constructed as moral because it was aligned with precisely these values. It was also resisting a stronger enemy by 'fighting for peace' (28/3, 7/4, 2/4, 30/4). Peace was conceptualized through military terminology, 'peace forces' (*snage mira*) and 'fight for peace' (*borba za mir*).

As a contrast to the Us-category, NATO was constructed as immoral for wanting to rule not only FRY but also the whole world (28/3, 8/4, 14/4, 15/4, 2/5, 5/5, 9/5). The entrenchment of these categories and their attributes was achieved through extensive repetition during the entire period of analysis.

NATO as the enemy was criminalized through:

- a) The use of terms with high emotional value like the nouns 'aggressors', 'criminals', and 'vandalism', (*agresori, zločinci, vandalizam*); terms that were in line with the official and semi-official instructions (see Chapter 4), and the adjectives 'brutal', 'evil', 'criminal', 'fascist' (*brutalna, zločinački, kriminalni, fašistički*).
- b) The use of concretizations like 'strikes of the NATO pact on civilian infrastructure, among which were hospitals, bridges, kindergardens, schools, factories' (*udari NATO pakta po civilnim infrastrukturama, među kojima su i bolnice, mostovi, dečija obdaništa, škole, fabrike*) (for more examples see 4/4, 9/5, 1/6). Concretizations were used to construct the innocence of victims.<sup>127</sup>
- c) The Westernization of the enemy, ascribing it hegemonic, imperialist motives for attacking FRY. This fits in the old Discourse Model that was present

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<sup>126</sup>All examples in this section are found in Appendix 8, Table 8.

<sup>127</sup>'Concretization' emphasizes the enemy's negative acts by describing them in overly specific, graphic and visualizable terms (after van Dijk). The purpose is not so much to describe or explain as to incite a strong affective response, especially effective where children are among the victims (Lazar and Lazar 2004: 232).



during the SFRY, in which the West was corrupt, and wanted to colonize and destroy all countries, especially communist ones.

### 8.2.4.2 Albanian ‘separatist movement’ in Politika

The Albanian ‘separatist movement’ was aligned with NATO through NATO’s alleged support to it (31/3, 5/5, 13/5). Lexically the movement was constructed as ‘terrorist gangs’ (*terorističke bande*) (5/5, 13/5) that were ‘killing, pillaging and doing other criminal deeds’ (*činile nasilje, ubistva, pljačke i druga kriminalna dela*) (5/5). The activities of the army that was in the Us-category in *Politika*, to ‘break the terrorist organization’ (*razbije terorističku organizaciju*) was thus justified (13/5, 18/5, 28/5).

### 8.2.4.3 United Nations in Politika – Deus ex machina

The United Nations was conceptualized as an organization whose rules Yugoslavia wanted to follow and wanted other states to follow. Support for this view of the UN was also given by friendly nations:

a) *Najoštrije su osudili [Rusi] brutalnu agresiju na SRJ, kao kriminalni akt, kojim je pogažena Povelja Ujedinjenih Nacija, grubo prekršeno međunarodno pravo. (31/3:6)*

They [the Russians] condemned most harshly the brutal aggression on FRY as a criminal act, with which the UN Charter was trodden on and international law broken.

b) *[Grci] Zločinom, koji se vrši nad narodom Jugoslavije pogažena je Povelja UN... (7/4:4)*

[Greeks] With the crime that is being done on the people of Yugoslavia, the UN Charter is being trodden on...

FRY’s position in the UN was unclear during most of the 1990’s. FRY was not a member of UN from 1992 when FRY was formed until 2001 when it was readmitted into the UN as a legal inheritor of SFRY. The status was unclear because although there was an empty chair in the UN during that period, the FRY flag was not in front of the UN (Tagirov 2007).

In late May 1999, the UN’s role started to be foregrounded at FRY government meetings. The use of ‘without doubt’ (*nedvosmisleno*) and ‘finally take back its own role’ (*konačno preuzme svoju ulogu*) in the following example implicitly blamed the UN for not doing its job.

*Organizacija UN, u skladu sa Poveljom OUN, treba nedvosmisleno i hitno da zaustavi agresiju na SRJ i konačno preuzme svoju ulogu i obezbedi vraćanje mira na jugoslovenske prostore (15/5:14)*

The UN organization, in accordance with the UN Charter, should without doubt and immediately stop the aggression on FRY and finally take back its own role and secure the return of the peace in the Yugoslav space (15/5:14)

This trend continued as political activities intensified. The UN was constructed in *Politika* as an entity with boundaries (see below, *a*, ‘within the UN’ (*u okviru UN*)) which was capable of dealing with problems located within its boundaries. NATO and its actions were located outside the UN boundaries, outside the law. Furthermore, NATO was implicitly blamed for taking the leading role away from the UN, evoking the POLITICS IS A GAME metaphor.

Milošević repeatedly demanded that the UN regain its leading role (see below, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*), which in the end happened (see below, *g*). The scenario expressed during this period was that NATO, led by the USA, had illegitimately taken away the UN’s role, and that only through Milošević’s insistence and fight, was that role returned and the bombing stopped.

*a) Zajednički [sa Černomyrdinom] je ocenjeno da rešenje može da bude samo političko i u okviru UN. (21/5:7 and title!)*

Together [with Chernomyrdin] it was assessed that the solution can be only political and within the UN.

*b) rešavanje problema [treba] da pređe u okvire OUN, kojoj se mora vratiti njena osnovna uloga, rekao je predsednik Milošević (22/5:7)*

the solution of the problem [should] go over into the frame of the UN, to which its main role must be given back, said president Milošević

*c) To pretpostavlja prestanak agresije na našu zemlju i vraćanje OUN njene uloge. (28/5:6)*

That presupposes the cessation of the aggression on our country and the return of its role to the UN:

*d) U tom smislu, neophodno je sa sadašnjeg stanja sukoba ceo problem što pre premestiti u UN – Savet bezbednosti. (29/5:3)*

In that sense, it is necessary to move as soon as possible from today’s state of conflict to the UN Security Council.

*e) U skladu sa našom doslednom politikom mira i odbrane slobode, SRJ je prihvatila načela, sadržana u stavovima G-8 i smatra da Savet bezbednosti UN, u skladu sa Poveljom UN treba svojom rezolucijom da omogućiti da rešavanje krize sa vojnog bude prevedeno na politički kolosek, što podrazumeva vraćanje OUN njene osnovne uloge u održavanju mira i bezbednosti na svetu. (1/6:5)*

In accordance with our consequent politics of peace and the defense of freedom, FRY accepted the principles contained in the G8 position and believes that the UN Security Council, in accordance with the UN Charter, should ensure with its resolution that the solution

of the crises be transferred to a political track, which presupposes giving its main role in keeping peace and security in the world back to the UN.

f) *Predsednik Milošević je ukazao da treba da preovlada mirno rešenje, čije postizanje je moguće, pre svega vraćanjem osnovne uloge UN. (2/6:3 and title)*

President Milošević pointed out that a peaceful solution should prevail, and which is possible before all by giving the UN back its main role.

g) *Potvrđen suverenitet i teritorijalna celovitost SRJ i uloga UN (4/6: title)*

Sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the UN's role confirmed.

### 8.2.4.4 NATO and Milošević in Pobjeda

#### NATO vs. Us in Pobjeda

NATO was also constructed as a member of the Them-category in *Pobjeda*, but in a different way than in *Politika*. Lexically, NATO activities were described in terms of euphemisms for war actions. *Pobjeda* wrote about 'strikes' (*udari*), 'intervention' (*intervencija*), 'bombings' (*bombardovanje*), and 'attacks' (*napadi*). The actions were nominalized, removing agency from the actors. Only on a few occasions were the terms for war actions accompanied by evaluative adjectives, 'heartless bombing' (*bezdušno bombardovanje*) (2/4 and 13/5) and 'fierce attacks' (*žestoki napadi*) (17/4 and 30/4). On one occasion, the bombing was concretized as 'the powerlessness of diplomacy and politics of dialogue' (*nemoć diplomatije i politike dijaloga*) (9/4). The civilian victims were juxtaposed to both NATO's bombings and Milošević's politics, blaming both actors for the results of the bombing.

a) *Ljudske žrtve su sve brojnije (30/3:2)* Human victims more numerable.

b) *Albansko kao i stanovništvo drugih vjera i nacija gine i raseljava se sa Kosova (30/3:7)* Albanian as well as the inhabitants of other religions and nations die and run away from Kosovo.

c) *I u ovom paklu stradaju potpuno nevini ljudi (30/3:15)* And in this hell, totally innocent people suffer

d) *Mi smo jednako pogođeni surovim stradanjem Srbije, njenog naroda i svih nedužnih ljudi koji ginu na Kosovu (30/3:22)* We are equally hurt by the brutal suffering of Serbia, its people, and all innocent people who die in Kosovo.

e) *Solidarnost sa ljudima svih vjera i nacija, [...] koji stradaju kao nevine žrtve ove bezumne tragedije (2/4:3)* Solidarity with people of all religions and nations [...] who suffer as innocent victims of this mindless tragedy.

f) *Stradaju nevini ljudi (17/4:5)* Innocent people suffer

g) *Nevine žrtve, i protjerivanje stotina hiljada jugoslovenskih građana iz njihovih domova (28/4:B3)* Innocent victims and persecution of hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav citizens from their homes.

NATO was conceptualized as someone Montenegro was able to send messages to. This was expressed linguistically as:

- Infinitives used as imperatives:

*Odmah prekinuti NATO udare (30/3)* Immediately stop the NATO strikes

*Odmah prestati sa bombardovanjem (2/4)* Immediately stop the bombing

*Bombardovanje odmah prekinuti i uspostaviti politički dijalog (14/5)* Immediately stop the bombing and start with the political dialogue

Infinitives exclude the person who is implied in their grammatical form. Thus, unlike in English, ‘to stop’ (*prekinuti*) removes agency in comparison with ‘you stop’ (*prekinite, prestanite*). On the other hand, these infinitives are preceded by adverbs like ‘immediately’ (*odmah*) which give a sense of urgency and underline the seriousness of the message

- Nominal phrase expressions preceded by the verbs *zatražiti* and *založiti se*, indicating that the person asking has a less powerful position:

*Đukanović zatražio hitnu obustavu bombardovanja Jugoslavije (12/5)* Đukanović asked for an immediate cessation to the bombing of Yugoslavia

*Đukanović se založio za hitan prestanak bombardovanja SRJ (26/5)* Đukanović interceded for an immediate cessation of the bombing of FRY

- Constructions *da* + V

*Da se zaustavi bombardovanje (4/4)* Let the bombing stop

*Da prestanu NATO napadi (30/4)* Let the NATO attacks stop

NATO and the international community overlap in *Pobjeda*. When Đukanović asked for the NATO bombing to stop, he asked the leaders of the international community and when he accused somebody of playing a dangerous game with Milošević (29/3), that somebody was the international community. In the following example he explicitly connected the two:

*Potez koji je učinila Međunarodna zajednica je veoma loš, da se riješi jugoslovenski konflikt putem bombi (9/4: lead)*

The move that the international community made was very bad, solving the Yugoslav conflict via bombs. (9/4: lead).

### **Milošević vs. Montenegro in *Pobjeda***

*Pobjeda* constructed the identity of Milošević and his government in contrast to Montenegro and its government. The dichotomy of rational vs. irrational political actors, highlighted in the previous chapter, was also present in *Pobjeda* in the rest of

the corpus. Accordingly, Montenegro was a rational actor (28/3, 2/4, 24/4, 16/5)<sup>128</sup> because it led democratic, peaceful, pro-European politics (28/3, 4/4, 9/4, 17/4, 16/5), strove for integration with the rest of the world (16/4), and subscribed to economic reforms (26/4, 15/5, 9/6). Milošević and his government were presented as irrational actors (2/4), in conflict with the international community (28/3, 9/4, 30/4, 13/5). In addition, Milošević was presented as an autocrat (4/4, 9/4, 10/5, 23/5) whose aim was to politically destabilize Montenegro (4/4, 9/4, 26/4, 10/5, 23/5). He was also blamed for not following the constitution by selecting Bulatović as prime minister instead of Đukanović (10/5:6), and in that way expelling Montenegro from the federal institutions (19/4:6). The federal government was not accepted by the Montenegrin government, which can be seen in the use of the term ‘the so called federal government’ (*takozvana savezna vlada*) (9/4:21).

### 8.3 Developments in Discourse Models

After analyzing how Us-Them identities were being built in the corpus, the following section will return to the analysis of the DMs, and connect the analysis of lexicogrammar and metaphors to the analysis of DMs.

#### 8.3.1 Defense War DM and Neutral Mediator DM

The main scenarios of the DMs remained fairly stable during the whole period with developments of certain elements, and some new elements appearing in the models. In both *Politika* and *Pobjeda*:

- The Us-category in both models was broadened by the inclusion of foreign friends (see 7.10.5 and 7.10.6)

In *Politika*:

- The aim of the Defense War DM was developed from the fight for the liberty of FRY to the fight against western hegemony, the so called new world order (see Table 7.9)
- Serbia was promoted into a moral defender against that new order based on a geo-strategic model in which Serbia/Yugoslavia occupied an important geo-political space that the USA wanted to control and a moral model in which Serbia/Montenegro was a freedom-loving nation (see Table 7.9)

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<sup>128</sup>All examples in this section are found in Appendix 8, Table 9.

- The United Nations was presented as an organization that had lost control over world affairs in general and the NATO bombing in particular, but which later regained control and started playing an important role in solving the conflict between NATO and FRY. This twist enabled Milošević to proclaim victory over NATO.
- Thus the implied Discourse Model was that of Serbia and Montenegro constituting one people and one country.

In *Pobjeda*:

- The element of the fight for Montenegro's democracy was added based on a model in which Serbia had an autocratic, undemocratic leadership
- The implied Discourse Models were (i) Montenegro as an independent entity and (ii) Montenegro as part of Yugoslavia.

<b><i>POLITIKA (YUGOSLAVIA/SERBIA)</i></b> <b>DEFENSE WAR DISCOURSE MODEL</b>	<b><i>POBJEDA (MONTENEGRO)</i></b> <b>NEUTRAL MEDIATOR DISCOURSE MODEL</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Modeled after: Second World War and Kosovo battle models</li> <li>● Participants: aggressor, victims, traitors, hero, etc.</li> <li>● New elements: the moral fight against the new world order and the hegemony of the USA, the importance of the UN</li> <li>● Inference (expected action): defense</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Modeled after: non-alignment model</li> <li>● Participants: parties in conflict, mediator, etc.</li> <li>● New element: the fight for Montenegrin democracy and independence</li> <li>● Inference (expected action): negotiation, possible fight for independence</li> </ul>

*Table 8.1: Discourse Models with new elements*

### 8.3.2 One Country DM vs. Two Countries DM

In *Politika*, the Defense War DM was connected with the DM of Yugoslavia as a unified country. There was no mention of Montenegro being a separate part of FRY.

In *Pobjeda*, the situation was different. The Neutral Mediator DM was connected with the DM of Montenegro's sovereignty, but at the same time there was a competing DM, in which Montenegro was a part of Yugoslavia. Even then, being a part of Yugoslavia meant being a separate republic and being an equal partner with Serbia. Both DMs in *Pobjeda* emphasized the relational aspect of nation construction: ways

of being/belonging to Yugoslavia and ways of being/belonging to Montenegro. They were co-constructed in relation to each other and structured in different and contradictory ways. The DM in which Serbia and Montenegro were united was derived from their historical relationship of periods of unification and of sharing a common Orthodox religion; while the discourse of Montenegro's sovereignty was derived from the historical relation of periods of independence and a sense of political difference during the evolving events. Accordingly, there were two sets of meaning potentials at work simultaneously in *Pobjeda*.

### 8.3.3 Yugoslavia DM in Politika

FRY was conceptualized both as an entity and as a person. FRY's identity was temporally (historically) constructed in connection with the Second World War (see examples below, a-c).

a) *Radi se o teškoj samovolji i zloupotrebi oružane moći NATO-a čime je ugrožen međunarodni mir i bezbednost, a međunarodnom poretku zadat najteži udarac posle Drugog svetskog rata. (31/3:7)*

It is about the strong self-will and misuse of NATO's military power by which international peace and security are threatened, and the international system has been given the heaviest blow since the Second World War.

b) *Zločinom koji se vrši nad narodom Jugoslavije, pogažena je povelja UN, poništeno međunarodno pravo i zadat najteži udarac miru i stabilnosti posle Drugog svetskog rata. (7/4:4)*

The crime that is being committed on the people of FRY, the UN Charter was trodden upon, international law annulled and the heaviest blow to peace and stability was given after the Second World War.

c) *Zločini novih nacista nadmašili su one iz Drugog svetskog rata. (7/4:8)*

The crimes by the new Nazis exceeded those from the Second World War.

The Second World War was a traumatic period from which Yugoslavia emerged as a victorious society based on a socialist political system. By drawing parallels with past events, evoking the Second World War, this also projected what was going to happen. Yugoslavia came out as a winner in 1945, so per analogy it was also to win in 1999. An equality sign was put between the FRY of 1999 and the People's Republic of Yugoslavia of 1945 even though both the territories and social systems of these two countries differed radically. Linking present events to past references produced a feeling of the everlasting flow of history and the inevitability of its repetition. As one

historian from Belgrade formulated it in a political gathering ‘The Second World War is not over for us!’ (cited in Ćurgus 2003: 12).

Warnings that the NATO bombing could turn into a new World War were given not only to people in Serbia, but also to the international audience. NATO was aligned with Nazis, and was differentiated from the Second World War Nazis only by the adjective ‘new’. The fact that NATO consisted of countries that were Yugoslav allies during the Second World War was not mentioned. Only the suitable elements from the past scenario were foregrounded (see Figure 7.8). Compressing the time between 1945 and 1999 created a sense of continuous struggle, and the Defense War DM was activated. Examples and illustrations from the Second World War are powerful emotional tropes that influence the recipients’ mental models.



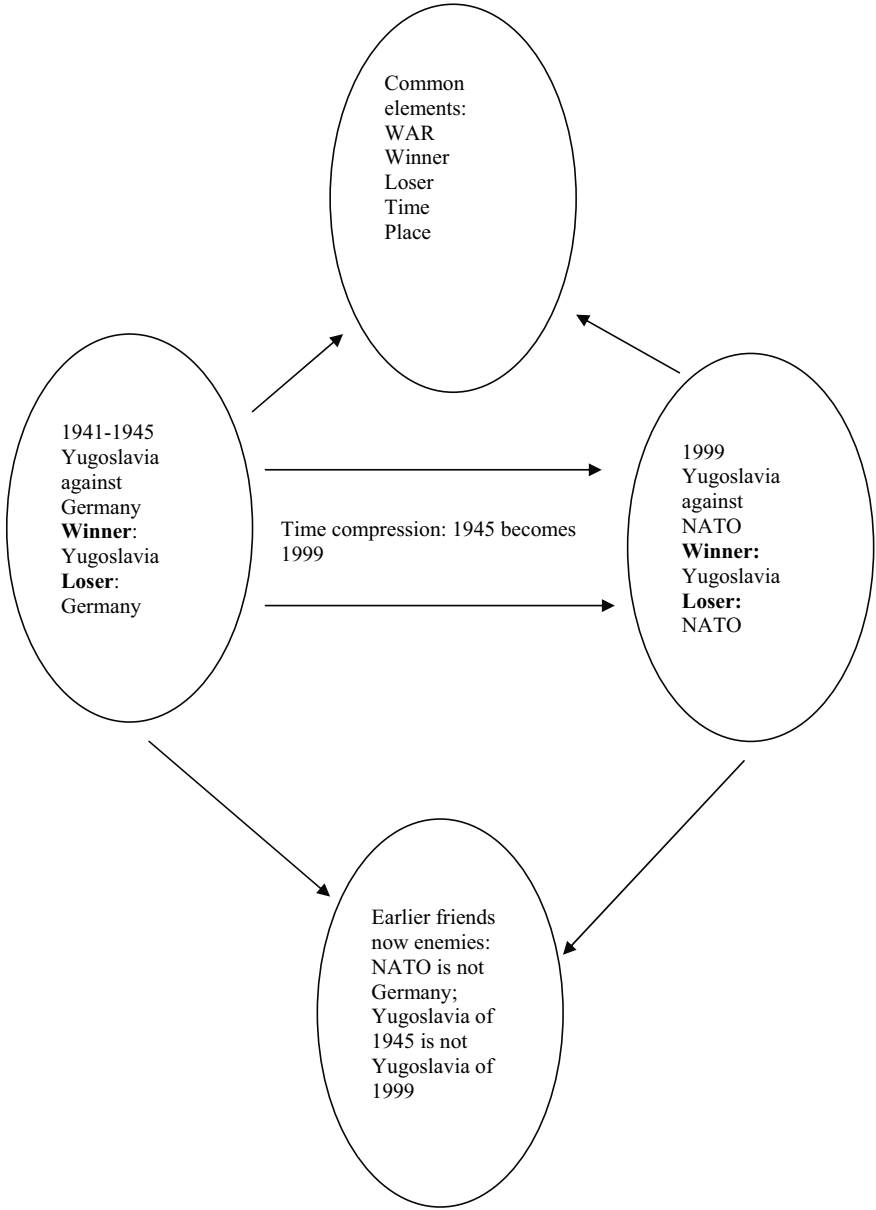


Figure 8.4: *Blending past and present in Politika*

Yugoslavia was historically identified only with those periods in history in which it fought for its freedom as Yugoslavia (see Appendix 8, Table 10). Serbian war history was not referred to in particular, or it was understood as Yugoslav war history.

### 8.3.4 Unity DM in *Pobjeda*

As mentioned above, there were two contesting DMs in *Pobjeda* regarding the relationship with Serbia:

1. A DM of Montenegrin unity with Serbia, i.e. one common state constructed in both political and religious terms
2. A DM of Serbia and Montenegro being separate entities.<sup>129</sup>

#### 8.3.4.1 Politically based unity

In the whole corpus, but particularly during April 1999, it was repeatedly acknowledged that Montenegro and Serbia were one state ('the whole of our country', the whole of our state', 'the Yugoslav federation', etc. *cijela naša zemlja, cijela naša država, jugoslovenska federacija, etc.*) Nevertheless, Montenegro was also mentioned separately, which implicitly announced possible change of the status of the federal state. This change was openly voiced in the June 9 issue of *Pobjeda*, 'We will ask for a redefinition of the relationship with Serbia' (*Tražićemo redefinisanje odnosa sa Srbijom*).

FRY was referred to as 'the whole of our country', 'our country', 'the Yugoslav federation', 'the Yugoslav community', 'the federal state', 'our common state', 'FRY' (*cijela naša zemlja, naša država, jugoslovenska federacija, jugoslovenska zajednica, savezna država, naša zajednička država, SRJ*). It was differentiated from the federal government and Milošević. The qualifiers 'our' (*naša*) and 'common' (*zajednička*) built positive connotations and thus closeness when qualifying the noun 'state' (*država*). Nevertheless it was clearly stated that Montenegro joined the federation of its own (its people's) free will and that it was an equal partner with Serbia, implying

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<sup>129</sup>In his content analysis of *Pobjeda*'s reports on the Montenegrin government from 1991, Andrijašević shows that a special 'representation' of Montenegro was constructed by foregrounding certain historical topics. That representation corresponded, he continues, with the government's own aims. There are three major points that he identifies: a) Montenegrins are a part of the Serbian people, b) Montenegro has always fought for its 'occupied brothers' (Serbs), it has never betrayed the Serbs and c) The maintainance of Yugoslavia as a 'modern federation'. As the aims of the government started changing from the end of 1997 and during the NATO bombing, there was a change in 'the representation' (political discourse) in *Pobjeda* as well.

that it could also leave the union of its own free will. The common state was construed as lacking agency (see Appendix 8, Table 11).

### 8.3.4.2 Religiously based unity

Religious leaders in general and Orthodox religious leaders in particular were powerful social forces that both Milošević and Đukanović had to relate to. Both presidents were known to be non-religious. The relationship between religious leaders and political leaders varied from good to openly bad. For example, the Serbian Orthodox Church made a statement in 1992 that they were openly opposed to the government's policies (Logar 2003: 17), but until that point in time some of the church officials had supported the war (for example Kostić (2007) shows photographs of the priest Filaret carrying weapons,).

Showing the meetings with religious leaders from different religious denominations contributed to building Đukanović's identity as a democratic leader who respected the differences within his country. There were three *Pobjeda* articles in the corpus in which religious leaders were given voice. The first one appeared on April 2 and described the meeting between Đukanović and 'church leaders' (*crkveni velikodostojnici*) from the Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim religions. It is interesting that the term *crkveni velikodostojnici* was used in a situated meaning in which the leader of the Muslim community was also included. The main message from the meeting was that the religious institutions and government institutions together agreed to pursue peace for both Montenegro and FRY. The supremacy of the Christian faith was noticed in the usage of the term *crkveni velikodostojnici* and the common quote from the meeting which was an invitation to peace connected with Easter:

*Na mir i pomirenje poziva i veliki hrišćanski praznik Hristovog vaskrsenja koga ovih dana proslavlja i Istok i Zapad. (2/4:12)*

The major Christian holiday of Christ's resurrection that is currently being celebrated by both the East and the West is calling for peace and reconciliation.

The Orthodox religion, shared by the majority of religious Serbs and Montenegrins, was given space and acknowledgement by introducing the voices of Orthodox religious leaders, the Russian Patriarch Aleksey, Serbian Metropolitan Amfilohije (Amfilochios) and Serbian Patriarch Pavle (24/4 and 5/6). The connection between the church, the people and the government was foregrounded both by Metropolitan Amfilohije and by Patriarch Pavle, implicitly underlining the unity of Serbs and Montenegrins:

a) *Tom prilikom obostrano je [Amfilohije and Đukanović] konstatovano da mir i stabilnost u Crnoj Gori nemaju alternativu i da je to pravi doprinos stabilizaciji stanja u Jugoslaviji i očuvanju naše zajedničke države.* (24/4:8)

On that occasion, both [Amfilohije and Đukanović ] stated that there was no alternative to peace and security in Montenegro and that that is the real contribution to the stabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia and the preservation of our common state.

b) *[Patriarch Pavle] Neka gospod daruje mir i Crnoj Gori i Srbiji u ovako ozbiljnim vremenima za naš narod uopšte, došao sam u Crnu Goru po dužnosti, došao sam da se vidimo i razgovaramo, rekao je Patrijarh srpski gospodin Pavle. Treba da opstanemo kao nekad i kao ljudi. Onako kako valja. To je naša obaveza, jer smo mi sada predstavnici i svoga naroda i svoje crkve.* (5/6: in black frame)

[Patriarch Pavle] Let the Lord give peace to Montenegro and Serbia in such serious times for our people in general, I came to Montenegro on duty, I came to see and talk to you, said the Patriarch Serbian Pavle. We have to survive as before and as humans. In a right way. That is our obligation because we are the representatives of our people and our church.

### 8.3.5 Separation DM in Pobjeda

The DM of Montenegro and Serbia being *de facto* two separate entities was prevalent in the corpus, as expressed both by its frequency of appearance as well as the variety of lexico-grammatical sources used. It was constructed in political, historical and legal terms. The linguistic evidence of Montenegro's special position was both explicit and implicit (see 7.11.6.1). In addition, visual semiotic resources played an important role in meaning making. For example:

- a) Đukanović and other Montenegrin leaders, being metonyms for Montenegro, were present on the majority of front page photographs in *Pobjeda*, while Milošević, a metonym for FRY/Serbia was present only on three front pages.
- b) All the photographs of Đukanović meeting world leaders testified that Montenegro was being taken seriously as a separate political unit.
- c) The Montenegrin coat-of-arms on five front page photographs symbolized an independent Montenegro.

#### 8.3.5.1 Conceptualizing Montenegro

How was Montenegro conceptualized in space and time in *Pobjeda*? Montenegro was made salient by:

- a) Repeating the lexical term 'Montenegro' throughout the period, thus entrenching it.
- b) Placing 'Montenegro' in the initial position in various lists.

c) Positioning 'Montenegro' more often as active than as passive.

d) Collocating 'Montenegro' with positive terms like democratic, rational, etc.

Metaphorically, Montenegro was conceptualized both as a person and as a container. A container has at least three elements: inside, outside and boundary. The inside of a container can be connected with the inside of a person, it is the most vulnerable part of our bodies. We try to protect our insides and feel threatened if somebody is trying to hit us, burn (the fire metaphor is used often) or divide us from within. The outside of Montenegro is conceptualized as a threat. Outside is the where strikes originate, both from NATO and from Serbia:

a) *Udari po vojnim ciljevima u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji.* Strikes on military aims in Montenegro and Yugoslavia. [NATO strikes]

b) *Državni udar na Crnu Goru* Military coup on Montenegro [Milošević strike]

In these cases, Montenegro was a metonym for its geographical territory. As a container Montenegro was exposed to certain physical pressure (see below: *a*). Physical pressure was conceptualized as both pressure/threat from the outside and pressure/threat from the inside caused by pouring liquid into the container from outside (see below: *d*). The latter activates the scenario of excessive liquid that will overflow the container and thus threatens its existence.

a) *Pritisak na Crnu Goru i njenu demokratiju* – pressure on Montenegro and its democracy

b) *Opasnosti koje vrebaju Crnu Goru* – dangers that were aimed at Montenegro

c) *Crna Gora se nalazi u ratnom okruženju* – Montenegro is surrounded by war

d) *Crna Gora podnosi i izuzetno veliki teret priliva raseljenih lica sa Kosova* – Montenegro is suffering an exceptionally large burden through the pouring in of displaced people from Kosovo

The outside pressure came directly or indirectly from Milošević. The pressure from within was also conceptualized as fire, activating the 'Balkan - a powder keg' (*Balkan-bure baruta*), metaphor (see below: *a* and *b*) or highlighting internal divisions:

a) *Može zapaliti ratni plamen u Crnoj Gori* – can light war fire in Montenegro

b) *Uvijek eksplozivnu Crnu Goru* – always explosive Montenegro

c) *Sa velikom mukom balansirali sve one razlike i podjele koje imamo u Crnoj Gori* – with great efforts balance all these differences and divisions that we have in Montenegro

Montenegro as a container was positioned within the other, larger container:

*Pozicija Crne Gore u Jugoslaviji* – position of Montenegro in Yugoslavia

Montenegro was also personified through the metaphor MONTENEGRO IS A PERSON. Being a person, Montenegro has feelings, is able to speak, and accepts and rejects

other persons, i.e. other states. This conceptualization made it easier for the reader to identify and relate to the country.

*Principijelni stavovi Crne Gore* – principal attitudes of Montenegro

*Crna Gora je duboko pogođena* – Montenegro is deeply hurt

*Posljedice trpi Crna Gora* – Montenegro is suffering the consequences

*Crna Gora otvorena srca sa velikom nadom i očekivanjima ušla je u tu zajedničku državu* – Montenegro entered that common state with an open heart, a big hope and expectations

*Crna Gora upozoravala* – Montenegro warned

*Crna Gora odgovorila veoma organizovano* – Montenegro answered in a very organized manner

*Crna Gora znati da sebe zaštiti* – Montenegro knows how to protect itself

*Protivljenje i otpor Crne Gore* – The reluctance and resistance of Montenegro

*Moral se izjasniti oficijelna Crna Gora* – the official Montenegro had to speak out

*Prosperitet koji je Crna Gora doživjela* – The prosperity that Montenegro experienced

Montenegro is thus a metonym for its citizens or its government. Metaphorical and metonymical construals of Montenegro contributed to building interpersonal relations with the readership. Varying metonymical relations between Montenegro and its citizens, its government and its geographic territory homogenized the main protagonists. As a person, Montenegro followed the following scenarios: it either travelled towards its aim, democracy, or it was led by its leader, Đukanović (see below: *a* and *b*). Through metaphor and metonymy agency was transferred onto the Montenegrin people and its government.

*a) Crna Gora na najboljem putu da u skoroj budućnosti osjeti sve prednosti tih vrijednosti demokratskog kursa* Crne Gore – Montenegro is on the best way to, in the near future, feel all the advantages of those values of the democratic course of Montenegro

*b) Predsjednik vodi Crnu Goru u demokratskom pravcu* – The president leads Montenegro in a democratic direction

The conceptualizations of Montenegro as a person or as a container and its metonymical relations mentioned above were intertwined throughout this period. There was no obvious contradiction in metaphorically conceptualizing Montenegro as a person and as a container, because persons are in general metaphorically conceptualized as containers.

### 8.3.5.2 Democracy vs. autocracy

*Pobjeda* identified one of the major differences between the Montenegrin and Yugoslav government as differences between Montenegrin democracy and Yugoslav (Milošević's) autocracy. The nouns 'democracy and democrats' (*demokratija* i

*demokrate*), the adjective ‘democratic’ (*demokratski*) and the adverb ‘democratically’ (*demokratski*) were used in *Pobjeda* throughout this period, whereas *Politika* used it only twice during the same period in the corpus.<sup>130</sup>

How was democracy conceptualized to *Pobjeda* and who were the democrats? Firstly, the democrats were clearly identified as Us in *Pobjeda*:

a) *Mi smo demokrate i vjerujemo da treba da se sa gospodinom Miloševićem i njegovom politikom nosimo demokratski, strpljivo i tolerantno na jugoslovenskoj političkoj sceni sve do naše konačne političke pobjede.*

*We are democrats and we believe that we should bear with Mr. Milošević and his politics in a democratic way, patiently and with tolerance on the Yugoslav political scene until our final political victory.*

Democracy was conceptualized through the use of the metaphors DEMOCRACY IS A PERSON/PRECIOUS POSSESSION. Democracy was seen as a person who could get the chance to do something (see below: a, c) or a person who can threaten somebody (see below: e) or as a precious possession that somebody has or does not have (see below: b, d, e, I, through *svoju, našu, njenu*) and that can be protected (see below: b, d) or threatened (see below: g).

- a. *Šansa se mora dati demokratiji* – A chance has to be given to democracy
- b. *Crna Gora je uspjela da sačuva svoju demokratiju* – Montenegro managed to keep its democracy
- c. *Samo u miru demokratija ima šansu* – Only in peace has democracy a chance
- d. *I da će u ovom trenutku znati da zaštite i svoju državnost i svoju demokratiju* – And that they will at any moment know how to protect their own statehood and their own democracy
- e. *On se osjeća ugroženim od naše demokratije* – He feels threatened by our democracy
- f. *Vlast koja je privržena ekonomskim reformama, demokratiji i proevropskom putu i Crne Gore i SR Jugoslavije* – The government that is for economic reform, democracy and the pro-European way of both Montenegro and FRY
- g. *Vrši pritisak na Crnu Goru i njenu demokratiju* – Put pressure on Montenegro and her democracy
- h. *Odao priznanje Crnu Goru za privrženost demokratiji, reformama i međunarodnim integracijama, kao i njenom konstruktivnom pristupu aktuelnoj situaciji* – He gave recognition to Montenegro for its adherence to democracy, reforms and international integration as well as its constructive approach to the current situation
- i. *U ovoj zemlji nema demokratije, nema demokratskih institucija* – In this country [FRY] there is no democracy, there are no democratic institutions

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<sup>130</sup>The only time *Politika* mentions democracy in the corpus is in Milošević’s interview with CBS, published on 24/4: 19-20, where he criticized America for not understanding the term democracy.

One of the implications of such a conceptualization was that democracy was understood as Our own possession that We had to protect, no matter what. The overuse of the adjective ‘democratic’ (*demokratski*) with concepts that belong to different categories and different levels of categorization is presented in Figure 7.9:

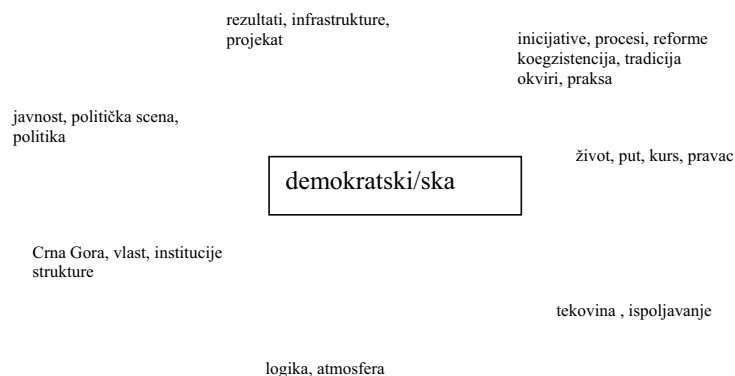


Figure 8.5: Use of adjective ‘demokratski’

The level of categorization of the nouns that *demokratski* was used to qualify was high, i.e. abstract. It seems as if mere repetition of the adjective was more important than what it was qualifying. The concepts that appear together with ‘democracy/democratic’ (*demokratija/ski*) were often in collocations with Montenegro, Europe, organization and economy. Democracy was connected with the state of Montenegro, ‘statehood, state’ (*državnost, država*). Further, democracy was connected with Europe and European values which, it was implied, were positive values. Multiethnic society and internationalization were also connected with Europe. ‘Coexistence’ (*koegzistencija*) was a concept used during the former Yugoslavia’s socialist period, most often in collocation with ‘peaceful coexistence’ (*miroljubiva koegzistencija*). Democracy was further indirectly connected with the positive adjective ‘organized’ (*organizovana*), while economy, or more precisely economic



reforms and prosperity, were equated with democracy (*ekonomske reforme, ekonomski prosperitet, reformska politika*).

*Pobjeda* also used visual semiotic resources to promote the construal of a concept of democracy through the allocation and division of space. The front pages presented physical space on which political leaders were constructed. The more place one occupied the more salience was achieved. Đukanović was construed as a leader who shared his power, because the *Pobjeda* front pages were shared among the three main politicians (see Chapter 6). Even though Đukanović had the most ‘hits’, the other two politicians, Marović and Vujanović, had a considerable presence on the front pages. On the contrary, on the front pages of *Politika*, Milošević was construed as a leader who did not share his power. He was the absolute leader. The political differences between the official Belgrade and the official Podgorica were expressed in *Pobjeda* through a clear dichotomy: democracy vs. autocracy. Montenegro was conceptualized as a democratic society in opposition to Serbia which was conceptualized as an autocratic society with an autocrat as its leader. The relationship between democracy and autocracy was presented as a relationship of constant struggle in which autocracy wanted to overcome and destroy democracy (see Appendix 8, Table 12).

### 8.3.5.3 Historically based difference

In the corpus, different interpretations of history were implied. Historical narratives were constructed by *Pobjeda* which connected various points in history with the time of writing in 1999. The function of constructing these narratives was to provide a ‘hegemonic framework’ (Wodak 2006: 605) for people to identify with. Those historic narratives were mostly general. The only specific mention of a historical event was found in:

*Pozivom na konferenciju o Jugoistočnoj Evropi međunarodna zajednica ispravlja jednu svojevrsnu krupnu istorijsku grešku koja je prema Crnoj Gori počinjena 1918 godine: potrebno je bilo da prođe 81 godina da bi Crnoj Gori bila vraćena njena stolica.* 23/5: lead  
By invitation to the conference on Southeast Europe, the international community is correcting one specific large historical mistake that was done to Montenegro in 1918: it was necessary that 81 years pass in order to return its chair to Montenegro.

Đukanović (*Pobjeda*) was referring to ‘The Podgorica Assembly’ (*Podgorička skupština*), an assembly in which the unification of Montenegro and Serbia was declared under the Karađorđević dynasty, instead of Montenegro’s continued independence. This event has been interpreted differently in different historical

periods. During the SFRY period, what happened at the *Podgorička skupština* was not constructed as being controversial, but in the 1990's it was reconstructed as a forced decision from the Serbian side (cf. Roberts 2007: 322).

The history of Montenegro and Serbia was merged under the adjectives 'long and proud' (*duga i ponosna*), but at the same time it was divided into the history of Montenegro and the history of Serbia.

*Prolazimo možda, najteže dane, inače duge i ponosne istorije Crne Gore i Srbije, kazao je predsjednik Republike Milo Đukanović. (30/3:4)*

We are going through, maybe the hardest days of, the otherwise long and proud history of Montenegro and Serbia, the president of the Republic Milo Đukanović said.

Other examples that hint at a proud and positive history, i.e. the history of self defense in times of war, were more general:

*a) Na današnjim generacijama u Crnoj Gori, pripadnicima svih vjerskih i nacionalnih zajednica, leži istorijska odgovornost da u duhu najboljih tradicija svojih slavnih predaka, očuvaju miran suživot i odnose visokog međusobnog uvažavanja i solidarnosti, da očuvaju Crnu Goru, i da doprinesu uspostavljanju mira u cijeloj našoj državi. (2/4:7)*

The historical responsibility is on today's generations in Montenegro, members of all religious and national communities, that in the spirit of the best traditions of their glorious ancestors, preserve peaceful coexistence and relations of high mutual respect and solidarity, to preserve Montenegro and to contribute to restoring peace in our whole state.

*b) Međutim, mislim da je Crna Gora tome odgovorila veoma organizovano i veoma efikasno, i uspjela da sačuva svoju demokratiju, tako da i ovog puta to shvatam veoma ozbiljno, nipošto uplašeno, uvjeren da će Crna Gora, kao i mnogo puta u istoriji, znati da sebe zaštititi, da zaštititi svoju državnost, svoje dostojanstvo i demokratsku tekovinu koju smo u međuvremenu formirali. (4/4:9)*

Meanwhile, I think that Montenegro responded to that in an organized and efficient way and managed to preserve its democracy, so that this time I take that very seriously as well, not scared, but sure that Montenegro, as many times in history, will know how to protect itself, to protect its statehood, its pride and democratic achievement which we have formed in the meantime.

*c) Vjerujem u jedan narasli demokratski pokret u Crnoj Gori, u samopouzdanje Crnogoraca, koji su uvijek u istoriji znali da zaštite svoje dostojanstvo i svoju državu, i koji će i u ovom trenutku znati da zaštite i svoju državnost i svoju demokratiju, rekao je pored ostalog predsjednik Milo Đukanović (4/4:5 – treći dio)*

I believe in a growing democratic movement in Montenegro, in the self confidence of Montenegrins, who always in history knew how to protect their dignity and their country, and who will in this moment know how to protect its statehood and democracy, President Milo Đukanović said, among other things.

Bad experiences in more recent history were negative, were opposed to more distant history and were ascribed to Milošević's government:

*Nažalost, takva politika [Miloševićeva] nas je prvi put u našoj istoriji ostavila usamljenim i naše istorijske saveznike pretvorila u naše protivnike. (28/3:9)*

Unfortunately, such politics [Milošević's] for the first time in our history left us alone and turned our historical allies into our enemies.

*Tragičan je saldo tog bezumlja: od Krajine i Slavonije preko Republike Srpske do Kosova. (30/3:26)* The result of that madness is tragic: from Krajina to Slavonija across Republika Srpska to Kosovo.

*U svojoj istoriji Crna Gora nije se srijetala sa takvim problemima – skoro 60 hiljada novopripjelih izbjeglica sa Kosova, sa 25 hiljada od ranije, plus 30 hiljada još iz Bosne i Hrvatske. (17/4:13)*

In its history Montenegro never encountered such problems – almost 60 thousand newly arrived refugees from Kosovo, with 25 thousand from before and 30 thousand from Bosnia and Croatia.

The DMs of one vs. two countries were used interchangeably following the pattern of emphasizing Our positive features with examples of positive history, and emphasizing Their negative features by connecting them to negative history.

### 8.3.5.4 Differences in legality

In *Pobjeda*, the differences between Montenegro and Serbia based on legality were expressed by giving examples of Serbia's failure to follow the Yugoslav constitution. Throughout the analyzed period it was emphasized that there were no legal representatives of Montenegro in FRY. Another example of illegality was FRY's political initiative to join an alliance with Russia and Belorussia without consulting Montenegro. Seen from the Serbian government's point of view, or Milošević's view, they had the support from the legitimate representative of the Montenegrin government, Momir Bulatović. Seen from the Montenegrin government's point of view, there were no legitimate Montenegrin representatives in the federal government and the decision was not approved by Montenegro (for examples see Appendix 8, Table 13.). According to that view, Montenegro was following the law, while Serbia was not, which legitimized Montenegro's wish to act independently.

## 8.4 Summary

In this chapter, the main aims of the Montenegrin and Yugoslav (Serbian) governments overlapped and were proclaimed in *Politika* as peace, the defense of FRY and the defense of world's peace and in *Pobjeda* as peace, the defense of

Montenegro and cooperation with the international community. Montenegro was thus foregrounded as a separate unit and aligned with the international community. On the other side, FRY was moved further apart from NATO, aligning itself with the freedom fighting nations who struggle against the USA-led NATO. Accordingly, the construction of members of the 'Us' and 'Them-categories' in both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* followed the patterns outlined in the initial addresses and the scenarios in the identified DMs. In *Politika*, the 'Albanian separatists' were aligned with NATO and both were described in terms which emphasized their bad deeds, e.g. terms with high emotional value, concretizations and the westernization of the other. On the other hand, in *Pobjeda*, Milošević was constructed as an irrational political actor in constant conflict with the whole world. His negative features were emphasized as Montenegro's positive features were emphasized.

*Politika* and *Pobjeda* both conceptualized the main participants of the 'Us-categories' *narod* and *građani* in two ways. Firstly, as an entity that is cared for by the government and secondly, as an entity with particular responsibilities, i.e., they were simultaneously active and passive. These responsibilities differed in accordance with the DM's used by the different newspapers. In *Politika*, *građani* were expected to defend the country, i.e. engaging in war was required, whereas in *Pobjeda*, *građani* were expected to preserve the peace and preserve their country, i.e. non-action, not engaging in the war, was required.

Friendly nations were conceptualized in different terms in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. Whereas *Politika* conceptualized the country's friends as supporters of the just fight against the aggressors, *Pobjeda* conceptualized them as supporters of the democratic political system in Montenegro. The power of supporters of the democratic system was clearly shown not only in the words of support but also in the economic help they offered to Montenegro. This conceptualization was consistent with the DMs used in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. The friends of FRY and the friends of Montenegro differ, following the old divide between the Eastern and Western Europe of the Cold War. Milošević is aligned with Eastern Europe while Đukanović is aligned with Western Europe. The DMs identified in the first part of this chapter have remained largely the same, although some changes in participants and new elements which supported the DMs have been added. The Defense War DM included friendly states as new participants, and the moral fight against the new world order and the importance of the UN as new elements. The Neutral Mediator DM foregrounded the fight for

Montenegrin democracy and independence as a new element, and included its friendly states as new participants. The relationship between Montenegro and Serbia was conceptualized through two simultaneous DMs in *Pobjeda* one of Montenegrin-Serbian unity and one of separation. The unity was constructed in political and religious terms, whereas separate states were constructed in political, historical and legal terms.

## 9.0 Leaving the theater of war

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The NATO bombing stopped on June 10, 1999, after a military technical agreement was signed at the military airport near Kumanovo, Macedonia. This agreement stipulated that the Yugoslav army and police were to withdraw from Kosovo and that the UN would rule Kosovo in accordance with UN Resolution Nr. 1244. The official military construction of this event was expressed through the words of General Svetozar Marjanović:

The Yugoslav Army Delegation had talks with representatives of the UN and international security forces. The talks were quite difficult, but we managed to finally sign the agreement, a document for peace, and this means that the war is over. This means that the policy of peace, a policy pursued by the FRY and president Milošević also triumphed. (Marković and Jovanović 2000).

In this final part of the verbal analysis, the focus will be on the newspapers' construal of this new political situation after the bombing. This chapter will ask whether there has been any change in the Us/Them categories? Have the spatial and temporal conceptualizations of Montenegro/Serbia/Yugoslavia changed? Has the new political situation resulted in any change in the Serbian-Montenegrin relationship?

Milošević's address to the citizens was published on *Politika*'s front page on June 11.<sup>131</sup> The layout of the page and the embedded photograph of Milošević resembled that of March 25. The implicit message was that nothing had changed;

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<sup>131</sup>Both texts are found in Appendix 9.

Milošević was still in power. The screamer headlines ‘The people are the hero’ (*Narod je heroj*), summarized the whole speech and once again connected Milošević with *narod*.

Milošević’s speech was also announced on *Pobjeda*’s front page. The headline ‘Milošević congratulated the people with peace’ (*Milošević narodu čestitao mir*) was, however, one of the less salient news stories among other announcements on the front page (see Figure 9.1).

It was to be expected that Đukanović also would address the Montenegrins and that the address would be published in *Pobjeda* on June 11. That did not happen. Instead, *Pobjeda* published an interview with Svetozar Marović, President of the Montenegrin Assembly. The main points of his view of the situation were forwarded on the right side of the page under the headline ‘The fate of the common state is in the hands of the people’ (*Sudbina zajedničke države u rukama naroda*). As mentioned in the introduction, this is the only article in which Đukanović is not the main character. It is nevertheless relevant to the analysis, since (i) it gives an analysis of the situation after the bombing stopped and can be compared to Milošević’s address, (ii) the article evokes *narod* as Milošević’s address does, (iii) Marović was one of the three most important politicians during the analyzed period, i.e. his words would not differ considerably from Đukanović’s, and (iv) this is, after all, an analysis of the newspapers’ discourse and *Pobjeda* signaled the article’s importance by allocating it a red frame and employing red bullet points to mark a list of points made by Marović.



Figure 9.1: Front pages of *Politika* (left) and *Pobjeda* (right), June 11, 1999

### 9. 1 Milošević and Marović: Thematic structure

Milošević's speech was structured in *Politika* through the following topics:

1. Congratulating the citizens on peace (lines 1-3).
2. Remembering the fallen heroes; the police was concretized as the police of the Republic of Serbia thus excluding the police of the Republic of Montenegro (4-8).
3. Concretizing the people's role as heroes (9-12).
4. Summing up the results of the war:
  - a. Kosovo was not lost, it had not become independent, FRY's territorial sovereignty had been preserved (13-19).
  - b. The UN had been given back its role by FRY (23-28).
  - c. The FRY had defended the only multinational community remaining in from the former Yugoslavia (37-38).
5. Giving 'orders' regarding what people should do in the future – 'reconstruction of the country', 'mobilization' (*obnova zemlje, mobilizacija*).

Thus, while the Defense War Discourse Model was still active during this address, a new DM was emerging – a model of the reconstruction of the destroyed country – that was built upon a familiar model, from the period following the Second World War.



After the war, SFRY had gone through an intensive period of reconstruction which had included all citizens, voluntarily or involuntarily. A well-known slogan from that period was ‘No relaxing while the reconstruction is ongoing’ (*Nema odmora dok traje obnova*). The spirit of rebuilding the country, ascribed to Milošević, was foregrounded by *Politika*.

The highlights from Marović’s long interview were presented in seven bullet points by *Pobjeda*. Marović:

1. Evaluated the war as senseless, concretizing the losses (‘uncountable number of innocent people killed, hundreds of thousands fathers, mothers and children moved from their homes’ (*ubijeno nebrojeno nevinih ljudi, raseljeno na stotine hiljada očeva, majki, djece*)) and concluded that it was not a victory.
2. Put the blame on Milošević, connecting him to war crimes and juxtaposing the whole international community with Milošević (‘behind that stood the international community, United Nations and its Security Council’ (*iza toga stoji Međunarodna zajednica, Ujedinjene Nacije i njen Savjet bezbjednosti*)).
3. Addressed Russia’s ambiguous role as simultaneously friendly yet serving its own interests.
4. Justified Montenegro’s position during the war as a struggle for every individual (‘Instead of fighting to the last person, we were supposed to fight for each person’ (*Umjesto borbe do posljednjeg čovjeka uvijek se valjalo boriti za svakog čovjeka*)).
5. Postulated that life will return to normal.
6. Gave a pessimistic vision of Kosovo as a place without Serbs and Montenegrins. Turned to religious leaders as possible promoters of peace.
7. Posed a question about the future of Montenegro and the federation as a choice between going forward into democracy or going backward into despotism – (the metaphor of forward vs. backward indicates that this is actually not a choice). The fate of FRY is transferred to people’s hands thus opening the political question of Montenegro’s independence.

The Neutral Mediator DM was to be found in Marović’s points. Montenegro was put in the position of evaluating the two sides in the conflict. This model was, as in the earlier case, complemented by a model of Montenegro as a democracy. The statement from the final bullet point which was also foregrounded in the headline, that the people would have to decide what happened in the future, seems to fit a democratic

mode of decision-making. It is not only one person who decides in a democracy, but the majority.

This short overview over the thematic structures of the two articles shows two different constructions of the political situation which appeared after NATO stopped bombing FRY. Milošević proclaimed *de facto* victory over NATO, while Marović characterized the situation as a non-victory. Marović's formulation 'nobody can call this a victory' (*niko to ne može nazvati pobjedom*) was an intertextual engagement with Milošević's proclamation of victory. Milošević's vision for the future was a return to the pre-war status quo accompanied by speedy reconstruction of destroyed material goods. Marović's vision for the future was a choice between democratic and autocratic leadership. These two different constructions of the political situation in FRY after the NATO bombing influenced further political developments in Serbia and Montenegro, which eventually ended in Montenegro's independence in 2006.

### 9.2 *Narod vs. građani revisited*

#### 9.2.1 Heroes (Politika) vs. Decision-makers (Pobjeda)

As mentioned above (7.5.2), among *Politika*'s articles making the most frequent use of *narod* and *građani* was this address. *Narod* was used 15 times and *građani* ten times. This address illustrates the complex relationship of the use of these two concepts. The first encounter with *građani* appears in the *nadnaslov* 'The President of the Republic's address to the citizens' (*Obraćanje Predsednika Republike građanima Jugoslavije*). *Nacija* from the *nadnaslov* of Milošević's first address on March 25 was exchanged with *građani*. But the more prominent *naslov* reads 'The people are the hero' (*Narod je heroj*).

Milošević himself gave two definitions of *narod* in his speech. The first was an implicit definition:

*U ovom ratu učestvovao je čitav narod: od beba u porodilištima i teških bolesnika na intenzivnoj nezi, do vojnika u rovovima, PVO i graničara na granicama.* (9)

*All the people participated in this war: ranging from the babies in maternity wards and seriously ill patients in intensive care units, to soldiers in trenches, in the anti-aircraft defense and in border units.*

This categorized members of *narod* according to their function in the war: babies and patients were innocent victims who were there to prove that the aggressor was wrong, and soldiers, air defense and border guards had the function of defending the country. Milošević's second definition was more explicit:

*Kad govorim o našem narodu, mislim na sve građane Jugoslavije i na nacionalnosti. (36)*

When I speak about our people, I have in mind all the citizens of Yugoslavia and also all nationalities.

Here, both *građani* and *nacionalnosti* were included in *narod*, possibly in order to show the speaker's own fairness and liberalism. But, does the specific mention of nationalities, divided from the citizens of Yugoslavia and highlighted with the connector 'and also', imply that nationalities were not already included in the former term and thus not part of *narod*? There was a mixture of different categories here which opened space for ambiguity and different readings.



Figure 9.2: Milošević's two definitions of *narod*

A similar example of ambiguity was shown in:

*sposobnosti i vitalnost našeg naroda, naših građana, naše države svih njenih stanovnika. (35)*

...the ability and vitality of our people, our citizens, our country, all its inhabitants.

While listing who was going to show its ability and vitality, Milošević specifically mentioned 'our people' (*naš narod*), 'our citizens' (*naši građani*), and then our state and its inhabitants. Does this mean that *narod* and *građani* were two different categories? Or were those two concepts used as synonyms in order to emphasize the category's importance? I propose that the latter was the case.

Another example of merging *narod* with other concepts was given in the following example:

*Kad kažem vojsku, neka se to shvati široko. Misim na vojsku, policiju i sve snage državne odbrane. Oni su pokazali pred čitavim svetom kako se brani naš narod, kako čvrsto i jedinstveno stoji zato što je narod bio vojska i zato što je vojska bila narod. (28-30)*

When I say army, this should be taken in a general sense to include the armed forces, police and all state defense forces. They have shown the entire world how the people should be defended, how to stand firm and united because the people were the army and the army was the people.

A sign of equality was placed between army and *narod* (in accordance with the previous analysis as shown in 7.10.4.2). The army was the people and the people was the army. The army defended the people, which meant that the people defended themselves. This, once again, combined a lack of agency on the part of *narod* with their conditional agency acquired through the army.<sup>132</sup>

Shifting the focus from the situated meanings of the concepts to the rhythm of the address opens a new perspective on the texts. The strategy of repetition with its mesmerizing function is often used in political speeches. Here the mesmerizing function was more important than the function of conveying precise meaning. Producing (i) longer sentences and (ii) explicit and extensive repetition of different categories had the potential to entrench particular information and give it more importance.

In this address there were no changes in the collocations in which *narod* was previously found: ‘our people’, ‘the whole people’, ‘people are the hero’ (*naš narod, cio/čitav narod, narod je heroj*). *Građani* also collocated with ‘our’, ‘all’, ‘respected and dear’ (*naši, svi, poštovani dragi*). In the beginning of his address, Milošević addressed the *građani* as *poštovani*, and just one proposition later he used *dragi*, possibly a gradation towards a term which brings *građani* closer within the Us-category.

Overall, *Pobjeda* used *narod* less frequently than *Politika*. This article was not an exception. Nevertheless, *narod* was still an important category, and in this article it was connected with the democratic form of decision-making, which somehow conflicts with the fact that *građani* is usually the term connected with democracy. *Narod* was also conceptualized as lacking agency in *Pobjeda*.

*Zato narod treba miriti i približavati, a ne dijeliti i svađati. (23)*

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<sup>132</sup>Conditional agency implies that the sufferer is only able to be active in a limited and ineffective way – hence the need for external intervention. (Chouliaraki 2006: 119).

That is why people should be reconciled and should be pushed closer together, and not divided and made to quarrel.

And it was also conceptualized as exhibiting conditional agency. *Narod* is something that somebody, presumably politicians, can either solidify or divide. But, later in the text (line 25), Marović implies that *narod* had once made a decision regarding the fate of the federal state and that they should again decide. The fate of the state was to stay in people's hands. A democratic form of deciding (25) was evoked in opposition to an autocratic form in which one person makes the decisions (24), again connecting to the model of Montenegrin democracy in opposition to Serbian autocracy.

*Jer sudbina Crne Gore, kao i zajedničke države, ne može biti u rukama ni jednog lidera, niti ni jedne posebne stranke. (24)*

Because the fate of Montenegro, as well as the fate of the common state, cannot be in the hands of any leader, nor any particular party.

*Ta sudbina mora ostati u rukama naroda. (25)*

That fate should remain in the people's hands.

Further, at the same time as the future was being transferred into the hands of a collective *narod* (25), *narod's* collective meaning was juxtaposed to individualism (15).

*Umjesto borbe do posljednjeg čovjeka, uvijek se valjalo boriti za svakog čovjeka. (15)*

Instead of fighting until the last individual, it has always been better to fight for each individual.

A possible explanation of this ambiguous use of *narod* in *Pobjeda* was the transferal of the responsibility of making decisions regarding independence from the politicians to the *narod*.

### 9.3 Enemies revisited

#### 9.3.1 NATO in Politika

The enemy was not as visible in Milošević's address as it was in other articles published in *Politika* during the period of NATO bombing. The temporary sub-global paratext about NATO's evil aggression disappeared in this issue as well. In Milošević's address, the enemy was referred to indirectly as 'many times bigger and stronger' (*mnogostruko veći i snažniji*) and 'dictate from one power center' (*diktat sile iz jednog centra*) referring to the USA's leadership of NATO. Furthermore, the enemy was void of agency, as it lost the war to Yugoslavia. Categorizing the enemy as bigger and stronger served the purpose of magnifying Yugoslavia's victory.

### 9.3.2 Domestic traitors vs. people in Politika

Traitors were not devoted much attention in the address. Nevertheless, they were mentioned as ‘so few of cowards’ (*mali broj kukavica*), presupposing that cowards/traitors existed in this war:

*I nikada u dosadašnjoj istoriji, kao u ovom ratu, narod nikada nije bio tako jedinstven i nikada u dosadašnjoj istoriji nismo imali manji broj kukavica, koje su pobile iz zemlje da tamo, na sigurnom, sačekaju kraj rata. (31)*

Never before in the entire previous history, have the people been so united as in this war. We have never had so few cowards who fled the country to wait for the end of the war in safety.

The scenario of some people or groups avoiding the conflict fit the Defense War DM and was familiar from previous wars, primarily the Second World War. The scenario develops along these lines: The traitors, including the Royal family, ran away from Yugoslavia leaving the country to the aggressors. Milošević hints at such events in history and juxtaposes such negative behaviour to the positive behaviour of *narod* who were united and stayed to protect their country. The good behaviour of people is stressed by repetition of the excluding adverb ‘never’ (*nikada*) marking the people’s positive value as eternal.

### 9.3.3 Silencing Montenegro

Montenegro was not mentioned by Milošević in his address. At the point in his address where he quantified the losses, he specifically mentioned, ‘114 members of the Serbian police who lost their lives’ (114 *pripadnika policije Republike Srbije (6)*). The entailment is that the Montenegrin police did not participate. Otherwise, Milošević could have used either ‘Yugoslav police’ or simply ‘police’. As shown above, the Montenegrin police supported Đukanović and his government and was opposed to the Yugoslav army.

### 9.3.4 Milošević in Pobjeda

The enemy in Marović’s interview was identified as Milošević who was euphemistically described as ‘the man accused of war crimes’:

*Mi ćemo biti jedina zemlja u svijetu koja će za svog predsjednika imati čovjeka okrivljenog za ratne zločine. (5)*

We will be the only country in the world which will have as a president a man accused of war crimes.

He was constructed in opposition to the whole international community, including Russia, and in opposition to democracy:

*To, nakon Rezolucije Ujedinjenih nacija, kako piše u nacrtu više nije stvar samo Haškog tužioca. Iza toga stoji Međunarodna zajednica, Ujedinjene nacije i njen Savjet bezbjednosti. Iza toga ne stoji samo Luiz Arbur, iza toga stoje i Rusija, i Kina i Grčka. (6-8)*

After the UN resolution, as it is written in the draft, that is not only the case for the Hague prosecutor. Behind that stand the international community, the UN and its Security Council. Behind that stands, not only Luiz Arbour, but also Russia, China and Greece.

*Pred Crnom Gorom i Srbijom je pitanje da li će naprijed sa demokratijom ili će unazad sa despotizmom. (22)*

The question facing Montenegro and Serbia is whether to go on forward with democracy or backwards with despotism.

This particular moment in time was conceptualized as a movement through space: the trajectory of going forwards was connected with a positive notion, in this case democracy, and going backwards was connected with something negative, despotism. The question of going forwards or going backwards is intertextually connected to Đukanović's cautious request from June 9, concerning the need to redefine the relationship with Serbia.

*Sa punim političkim realizmom i odgovornošću, nakon implementacije mira na Kosovu, državni organi Crne Gore postaviće na dnevni red pitanje redefinisanja odnosa sa Srbijom na novim demokratskim osnovama u jugoslovenskoj zajednici. (7)*

With full political realism and responsibility, after the implementation of peace in Kosovo, the government organs of Montenegro will put a question about redefining the relationship with Serbia on a new democratic basis in the Yugoslav community.

### 9.4 Friends revisited

#### 9.4.1 The UN in Politika

The UN was, once again, conceptualized as the top of the global pyramid of authority. That a favorable solution to the Kosovo problem would be connected to the UN was referred to both directly and indirectly by repeating three times that the problem would be solved 'under the auspices of the UN' (*pod okriljem Ujedinjenih Nacija*). This term had the connotation of benevolent protection. The UN's positive characteristics were ascribed to FRY's action of 'bringing the UN back after its 80 day non-action'. Connecting the UN with FRY put the UN in the Us-category. The scenario of the UN taking over what had been seen as NATO's role was a face-save strategy for Milošević and his politics.

### **9.4.2 Friends in Pobjeda**

Montenegro is, as before, aligned with the international community. The international community is understood very broadly, including countries from both Eastern and Western Europe. The ICTY in Hague is also indirectly acknowledged as an authority, while this was not the case in *Politika*. This alignment continued to influence Serbian and Montenegrin politics after the war. Montenegro cooperated with the ICTY and fulfilled its obligations, whereas Serbia, at the time of writing this study (2007) had not done so.

## **9.5 Summary**

This chapter analyzed the address to the people given by Milošević (*Politika*) and the interview given by Marović (*Pobjeda*). In these texts a new situation on the ground was constructed by the politicians and mediated through the newspapers. These two constructions of the closure of war were diametrically opposed. Milošević proclaimed the *de facto* victory of Yugoslavia over NATO even though the UN had taken over control of Kosovo and the Yugoslav military and police had had to leave the region. Marović, on the other hand, did not consider the situation to be any one party's victory. He presented the moment in history as a time for Montenegro to choose whether to continue with Milošević and autocracy, or to go with democracy. Accordingly, the Defense DM turned into a model of the reconstruction of a country while the Neutral Mediator DM turned into a model of the struggle for independence.



## 10 Concluding remarks

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This final chapter is divided into four sections and provides a summary and an evaluation of the research. First, the themes and issues discussed in the study will be briefly restated. Second, the three main theoretical/methodological contributions of this study will be foregrounded. Third, the patterns of salient linguistic and semiotic details found will be summarized. Finally, the limitations of this study as well as several recommendations for future studies will be presented.

### **10.1 Review of the study**

This study is an example of studying language-in-use and language as social action in a particular situation (war), at a particular time (from March 26 to June 11, 1999) and in a particular place (FRY). As a representative example of the particular social language, a corpus of front page political media texts was chosen from two different newspapers, the Serbian *Politika* and the Montenegrin *Pobjeda*. By analyzing this particular corpus of texts, this study was able to illuminate how two particular national identities, that of Serbia/Yugoslavia and that of Montenegro, and the relations between the two entities were discursively constructed during this critical period in history. This type of analysis required an innovative combination of different perspectives on language and society in order to address the complexity of the socio-linguistic elements. This complexity was addressed in the first part of the study comprising Chapter 2 on theory and Chapter 3 on methodology. From a social

constructionist perspective on society and knowledge, the analysis drew on socio-cognitive linguistics, social semiotics and critical discourse analysis. Emerging from these theoretical perspectives, a suitable methodology was devised relevant to the nature of the selected texts. Methodological tools used in this study range from lexicogrammatical and semiotic resources to metaphors and Discourse Models. This made it possible to point to connection between what was written and what was done and vice versa.

Context played a crucial role and was approached in a novel way – as the analyst’s mental model. This approach was described in detail in Chapter 4 in the second part of the study. In addition to the chapter on context, the second part of the study also includes Chapter 5 on co-text, which takes a diachronic view of political and media orders of discourse. These two chapters together illuminate the broader picture and serve as a preparation for the detailed semiotic and linguistic analysis in context, conducted in the third part of the study. Part 3 thus consists of four chapters and makes up the main analytical section. In Chapter 6, the semiotic analysis was dealt with separately, although it was emphasized that this was for analytical reasons; visual analysis without verbal analysis is only ever a partial analysis and can lead to erroneous interpretations. Chapters 7-9 direct the spotlights at primarily verbal, but also visual, analysis of the entire period of the NATO bombing, focusing on places which show how the identities of Serbia and Montenegro were constructed as different and how they were expressed and maintained in relation to each other and to other global political actors.

### **10.2 Theoretical and methodological contributions**

This study represents three shifts in approaches to text analysis: (i) *methodological* (from purely linguistic to combined linguistic and semiotic analysis), (ii) *political* (an improved understanding of ‘othering’ in Serbian – Montenegrin relations through Discourse Models) and (iii) *theoretical* (a socio-cognitive approach to context, i.e. from an objective to a subjective understanding of context).

#### **1. Shifting from verbal to visual-verbal analysis**

A particular strength of this analysis is the inclusion of the analysis of semiotic resources used in the newspapers. The need for visual analysis became immediately apparent upon the analyst’s initial engagement with the newspaper texts. The understanding of text was thus broadened to include semiotic resources in addition to

linguistic resources. Understanding meaning-making is central to discourse analysis, but it is not always easy to realize which meanings are made through images and which through language. It is shown in this study that visual and verbal resources work together in order to make coherent multi-modal texts. Meaning was made both through the individual features and through the interaction between different resources. For this reason, individual modes, i.e. the visual and the verbal, were analyzed separately and then reintegrated. By analyzing both linguistic and semiotic resources used in the selected texts, the meaning potentials were mapped more fully. For example, an impression of the type of newspaper one is reading is also created through choice of font, color and photographs. Serious newspapers, according to *Politika*, should adhere to tradition, using the font and layout which had not changed for several decades. The primacy of text over image was also a signal of a serious and trustworthy newspaper in the particular context. The type of photographs, black and white, showing official portraits of leaders and their meetings contributed to this serious image of *Politika*. The situation was somewhat different in *Pobjeda*. Its layout was different from *Politika*'s, showing tendencies to resemble a tabloid newspaper. This was a difficult balance, as *Pobjeda* also wanted to show itself as a serious, trustworthy newspaper, yet also stress its modernity. That could be the reason that verbal texts were also predominant in *Pobjeda* and that the images chosen were official photographs. Nevertheless, the ratio between images and texts is larger in *Pobjeda* than in *Politika*.

A further example of meaning construction through the visual resources is the use of photographs. Photographs of politicians chosen by the newspapers contributed to constructing two different types of political leaders in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. In *Politika* the focus was on only one political leader, Milošević, who was presented as the only leader. In *Pobjeda* three different political leaders were given space, even though one, Đukanović, was singled out as the most important. Đukanović was also presented as a dynamic type of leader through photographs of visits to European leaders, and through numerous interviews and press conferences, whereas Milošević was presented as a static leader who received politicians and did not give many interviews. The adjectives 'dynamic' and 'static' can have both positive and negative connotations depending on an individual's political views, i.e. depending on context. These representations were connected to self-proclaimed ideologies: democracy in *Pobjeda* and patriotism in *Politika*. Following this analysis, this thesis argues that if

visual resources are not analyzed, crucial elements of meaning construction are missing.

### **2. Discourse Models as a bridge between micro and macro analysis**

While engaging with the texts, several patterns were noticed which seemed to structure the narratives throughout the entire analyzed period. In the attempt to understand these patterns, a methodological tool called Discourse Models (DMs) was found to be useful. DMs were defined as everyday theories people have about how things ‘naturally’ are, and they consist of elements like participants, time, place, goals, etc. They were identified by analyzing a series of texts as DMs are not reproduced in every text all the time. Parts of DMs are present in texts and they have the ability to activate the whole model. In this study DMs are seen as connections between text and context; between the micro level of action and the macro level of the institution. DMs structured the war narratives in two different ways in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. By positioning different participants in particular ways, the DMs opened some fields of actions and closed others. For example, in one model in *Politika* the failure to defend oneself against NATO is seen as an act of treachery, while the same action in the other model in *Pobjeda* is constructed and interpreted as an act of peace.

These two main sets of DMs identified in the corpus are called (i) One (Common) Country DM vs. Two (Separate) Countries DM and (ii) Defense War DM vs. Neutral Mediator DM. The One Country DM starts from the presupposition that Serbia and Montenegro are one country and that they will remain so. On the other hand, the Two Countries DM assumes as ‘normal’ that Serbia and Montenegro are two different, equally important countries. The Defense War DM structures the NATO air war as aggression, and the Yugoslav reaction as defense, i.e. a justifiable reaction. The Defense War DM is interconnected with the DM of one common country.

The Neutral Mediator DM structures the NATO air war as a punitive action against Milošević, and Montenegro’s position is seen as the mediator who can help solve the conflict. As mediator, Montenegro is not supposed to partake in the war. This model is interconnected with the DM of two separate countries.

These DMs were used during the whole period of the NATO bombing. Some small changes were noticed in the DMs over time, for example, the addition of participants like friends and enemies. Nevertheless, their essence was not changed during the analyzed period. The result of using these different DMs was two totally different versions of the end of NATO’s air war. *Politika*’s version was that Yugoslavia won

the war, whereas *Pobjeda's* version was that everybody lost the war. These DMs present, in a nutshell, two different understandings of Yugoslav/ Serbian/ Montenegrin politics and contribute to a division which is called the two Serbias in Serbia, and the two Montenegros in Montenegro. Two Serbias refers to the division between the people who were pro- and those who were anti-Milošević; two Montenegros refers to the division between the people who were pro- and those who were anti-Đukanović. Being pro-Đukanović meant also being in favor of Montenegro's independence.

Conflicts in the former Yugoslavia were often accompanied by the question of how this could happen in Europe. Apart from revealing a Eurocentric understanding of Europe as a civilized place, the question is also a quest to understand the 'Other'. This study has contributed to understanding the Other by bringing the implications of the news to the surface and showing not only how new/revised/separate DMs were created so quickly, but also which possibilities for action were opened and which were closed through their employment.

### **3. Shifting from text to discourse analysis - a novel approach to context**

The shift from text to discourse analysis or the inclusion of context analysis is a difficult but important step in discourse studies. This analysis tried to illuminate as many aspects of discourse as possible – from describing, interpreting and explaining particular times, places, participants, relations and activities to giving a picture of how meaning making was constructed through the use of different verbal and visual resources. This involved addressing multiple timescales, multiple identities and relations and multiple activities which presented a theoretical and methodological challenge to the analyst. Which aspects of context should one include? Which linguistic and semiotic levels should one analyze? There is no ultimate answer to these questions, but the main idea followed in this work was that it is important to analyze discourse not in isolation but in as complete a manner as possible. In that way it is possible to see how the analyzed texts make sense in the 'real world' of space, time and relations. Accordingly, this study describes and analyzes political media language in two newspapers in a particular period by bridging the gap between text and society and pointing at possible connections between discourse and political actions. Possibly the most controversial aspect of this study is a subjective understanding of context and its analysis through the analyst's context mental model. Constraining the enormity of context in this way is, of course, open to criticism. How

much context one should include in one's study has been a problematic point in most research, and the validity of research can be questioned by either broadening or narrowing the context. Humans do not use all available contextual knowledge in order to understand a given text. They use particular layers of context whose choice is triggered by different elements in the texts. What triggers or drives particular layers of context is not the same for everybody. As this is the case, it is much more accountable to be open about one's own subjective layers. By including a meta-analysis of the analyst's mental model of context, the analysis becomes more transparent.

It may seem as if one freezes the context on paper by writing it down, but that is not the case. A context model is open to change and reconstruction even after it has been fixed on the page, just as it remains open to change during the research. Starting from the social constructionist viewpoint, as this study does, that all knowledge is discursively constructed, the analyst's context model is understood as one of several possible constructions and not as the ultimate true version. Having different constructions of historical events contributes to greater understanding of these events.

### **10.3 Empirical contribution: linguistic/semiotic details**

Although previous research on media, war and politics in Yugoslavia has been illuminating, it has so far largely failed to take into account systematic linguistic and semiotic analysis. At the beginning of this research the main aim was to investigate which linguistic and semiotic resources were used – and how they were used – to build discursive identities of Serbia and Montenegro and their relationship in the selected articles in the selected newspapers at a particular time, in a particular space. The following is a short summary of the linguistic and semiotic resources used by *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. The majority of the linguistic/semiotic resources used by both newspapers were the same, but since the newspapers had different goals they performed different functions in their respective contexts.

The main point in connection with the resources and their functions was identified as visual-verbal complementarity, i.e. that visual and verbal resources were used in a congruous interrelated way with the main aim of building Us-Them dichotomies. Building dichotomies involves backgrounding certain and foregrounding other aspects in discourse. Both newspapers followed the principles of the *ideological square* while building these categories, i.e. positive self representation vs. negative Other representation was a formula used extensively by both *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. This

dichotomy was fine-tuned by de-emphasizing one's own negative sides and de-emphasizing positive sides of the Other. This is combined with the 'cannibal principle', i.e. the principle that all linguistic and semiotic resources are permitted in order to defeat the Other, and an *a priori* acceptance that everything written in the newspaper is the truth.

Building clear Us-Them dichotomies is not a surprising finding as it can be expected in a war situation. What is surprising is that the members who inhabited those dichotomies were different in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*. The Them-category for *Politika* clearly consisted of NATO, whereas the Them-category for *Pobjeda* was primarily Milošević. This is surprising as the whole country, including Montenegro, was being bombed.

The reliability of the newspaper and their sources was established by the newspapers' openly pro-government stance: pro-Milošević in *Politika* or pro-Đukanović in *Pobjeda*. Their connections with the government and status as a government source gave these newspapers a particular position which was known in the society. Naturally, the views mediated were accepted by some and rejected by other members of the audience. In addition, other authoritative sources like Russia and China in *Politika* and Great Britain or USA in *Pobjeda* were quoted to support the newspapers' respective views. This was complemented by using photographs to work up the newspapers' credibility and truthfulness. Milošević's or Đukanović's powerful positions were also foregrounded through the complementarity of verbal and semiotic resources. These ranged from giving space to the politicians in privileged sites, e.g. positioning articles/photographs in which the politicians are the main characters on the front pages, to lexical choices and the adoption of Milošević's and Đukanović's Discourse Models as frames for constructing the newspapers' war narratives. The authorial voice was identical with politicians' voices as well as with the friendly voices which were introduced in the articles. These voices merged to represent a leading institutional voice.

Positive and negative representations of in- and out-groups were constructed on different levels in the discourse: from semantic macro-structures to the lexico-grammatical level. On the level of semantic macro-structures, topic selection and topic omission in the analyzed articles were important as they signaled what was allowed to be talked about and what was taboo. It was shown that both newspapers addressed common topics connected with building Serbian/Yugoslav and

Montenegrin identities, such as political alliances, proclamations of the state of war etc., but illuminated them in different ways according to their particular ideology or the political necessity of the moment. When it comes to omitting important topics, the two most important omissions for the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro were identified. Their identification was made easier thanks to the comparative approach of this study. Milošević avoided the topic of Montenegro altogether, while Đukanović avoided the topic of his previous political connections with Milošević. While avoiding the topic of Montenegro's government, Milošević did not acknowledge the existence of the problem, presupposing that he had the support from Montenegro by choosing Bulatović as prime minister, and as the only legal Montenegrin representative. This topic was not forwarded on the front pages at all by the editor in chief. It was addressed, however, with full emotional strength in other places showing that 'the people' were against 'the traitor' Đukanović. Đukanović consistently blamed Milošević for all the negative things that happened to FRY, and stamped him as an 'autocrat' without once mentioning their close political affiliations in the recent past. The total distancing from Milošević would not have been possible for Đukanović if his political past had been mentioned.

History was significant in other ways as well. Both newspapers compressed history in one way or the other, foregrounding particular happenings and backgrounding others. *Politika* blended the history of the Second World War with the NATO bombing, connecting these two historical events into a single everlasting fight between good and bad. In *Pobjeda*, on the other hand, periods of history when Montenegro was independent were foregrounded and given as possible 'natural' solution for a future resolution to the conflict.

Accusation and defense through justification and legitimization were the most important strategies which were used to imply 'our' good and 'their' bad actions. On the level of lexico-grammar these strategies were realized through the use of positive words for Us and negative for Them. These words were selected and used repeatedly so as to entrench them among the readership. For example, 'evil aggressors' was used to denote NATO in *Politika*, while the term 'autocrat' was systematically used for Milošević in *Pobjeda*.

Not only connotative power of these and other terms was important, but also their position in the sentence. The initial position of geopolitical terms like Montenegro contributed to entrenching Montenegro as a separate geopolitical unit. Using



particular geopolitical terms, for example Kosovo or Kosovo and Metohija, positioned politicians in the political landscape. The geopolitical indexical 'Kosovo and Metohija' implied that it was a part of Serbian territory, while the use of 'Kosovo' implied that it had a special status.

The importance of *pronouns* is seen through their exclusive or inclusive function. 'We' used in *Politika* and *Pobjeda* did not denote the same members, i.e. 'we' in *Politika* excluded Đukanović and his followers whereas 'we' in *Pobjeda* excluded Milošević and his followers. Distance between 'us' and 'them' was also created by building a dichotomy: *Pobjeda* used rationality and irrationality as differentiating factors; *Politika* used legality and illegality.

Further, *agency* (the use of active vs. passive) was used in order to deemphasize 'our' and emphasize 'their' negative agency. Agency is often connected with responsibility, and accordingly, making somebody else responsible for the situation could justify one's own political moves. This was noticed especially in headlines in the corpus. In connection with agency, *victimization* played an important role in legitimizing the victims' right to defend themselves. But, agency was shown not to be a clear cut category – very often activity and passivity went hand in hand. It was present in both newspapers, but it was used in different ways. While *Politika* made the people of FRY inhabit a victim role in their relationship with NATO, *Pobjeda* made the people of Montenegro the primary victims of Milošević's politics. The victims in *Pobjeda* had a more active role in the Neutral Mediator DM as Montenegro was given the agency of a quasi-independent state, whereas the victims in the Defense War DM had a more passive role. In both cases, activity and passivity were used in re-enactment, so that past passivity made victims conscious of their victim role and thus gave them an active position.

*Nominalization* was also used in order to shift agency and to move the generality level from clear/easily understandable to abstract/vague, thereby shifting responsibility from Us to Them. *Metaphors* were found to be of particular importance as they structured the scenarios of war narratives through their inferences. Inferences derived from metaphor scenarios were directly connected to political actions. For example, countries were often personified, i.e. discussed in terms of persons. This strategy of embodiment makes a country's suffering closer to the readership, evoking stronger feelings and engagement. Countries were also conceptualized as containers, for example in *Politika* (STATE IS HOUSE), foregrounding the vulnerability of the borders

and the menace that lurks outside, and activating the fear factor and readiness to defend oneself or even launch pre-emptive strikes. In *Pobjeda* politics was conceptualized as a hazardous game (POLITICS IS A GAME OF CARDS) with the implication that the political actors, the gamblers, were not to be trusted.

Ideology influences both the words and grammar people use. For example, the self-proclaimed 'democratic' government of Montenegro was described and referred to as democratic in *Pobjeda* by being aligned with western democracies. Alliances made during the war were openly ideological. The overuse of the noun 'democracy' and adjective 'democratic' was noticeable in the corpus and was clearly meant to entrench the idea of democratic Montenegro without really explaining what democracy is. Constant repetition of any term (for *Pobjeda* it was, *inter alia*, 'democratic'; for *Politika* it was 'sovereignty and territorial integrity') points at a problem that is being (re)negotiated in a society.

Summarizing the differences it is possible to conclude that *Politika* and *Pobjeda* used different DMs and hence different verbal resources (e.g. *narod/građani*, democracy, and geopolitical indexicals) and different semiotic resources (front page layout and photographs).

The analysis of these linguistic and semiotic details showed the identities of and relations between Serbia and Montenegro to be contextual categories which were constantly being renegotiated. Sometimes the identities seemed more stable as in *Politika* where the Yugoslav/Serbian identity was discursively built as a unified category leaning on historical evidence, whereas there was tension in *Pobjeda* which discursively built Montenegrin identity as both a separate identity based on historical, political and legal evidence and also a part of Serbian identity due to political and religious reasons. The balance between the separate and the common identity was tipping in favor of the former: a conceptualization of Montenegro as a separate nation and separate state. Discursive identities were thus shown to be multilayered and changeable. Their synchronization was an ongoing process; there was always at least one layer being foregrounded. Linguistics and social semiotics helped to locate the evidence for movement and change in identity formation: how different orders of discourse and different social languages blend – opening room for different interpretations. It also showed how Discourse Models help one type of discourse take over and become hegemonic.

### **10.4 Limitations and recommendations**

This study is one of the few studies about Serbia and Montenegro which combine the analysis of linguistic and semiotic resources in Serbian in order to research a socio-political question. It also combines in-depth analysis of context with linguistic/semiotic analysis. In addition, the study sheds light on the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro during a period that has not been researched in detail. The study conducted a detailed analysis of 91 newspaper articles which acted as a litmus test for the period analyzed. In order to find out if these linguistic/semiotic patterns and DMs were more widespread, more material needs to be investigated. Furthermore, different time scales should be compared as well. Accordingly, the first recommendation from this study is that more systematic linguistic and semiotic research of different periods and different types of texts is necessary in order to compare wartime with peacetime. Such extensive diachronic research would enable us to conclude whether there is a manifest difference or if it simply appears so, since we become more aware of certain elements in times of crisis. Such analysis would give an overview of different voices which exist in particular periods. Analysis should also include more systematic work on context.

It is a challenge to apply theory and methodology that is being developed with English as its testing ground to a new language. This study has used some principles and methods from socio-cognitive linguistics, SFL and social semiotics on Serbian-language material. It did not set itself the goal of systematically adapting the methodology used. The second recommendation of this study is thus twofold. Teams of researchers should work together in order to systematize work done so far on discourse analysis in Serbian and either systematically adapt the above mentioned Anglo-Saxon theories to the Serbian language or develop their own theories and models for research.

Because of the linguistic/semiotic evidence it has produced, this study is a contribution to other research within the fields of, for example, sociology, history, political science and media studies. It could lend more credibility to social research which sometimes constructs its understanding of political situations based on researchers' intuitions or superficial or non-systematic content analysis. A very good example for this is the case against Šešelj which was mentioned in the beginning of Chapter 1. The sociologist Anthony Oberschall was called in as a witness who was supposed to help the prosecutors of the ICTY prove that Šešelj had, through his

speeches, made Serbs expel non-Serbs in Vojvodina in the beginning of the 1990's. The sociologist was criticized for his unsystematic use of content analysis. For such a task, I propose, discourse analysis based on interdisciplinary work with linguistic evidence should have been used. Such an analysis requires a team of analysts with different – complementary – backgrounds. The final recommendation that this study makes is thus that more interdisciplinary work should be done, meaning that social scientists, media analysts and linguists should work more closely in order to illuminate social problems from different sides and thus contribute to a better understanding of our social practices.

## Appendix: Chapter 1

Distribution of the analyzed articles (presence of Milošević and Đukanović) in Pobjeda and Politika: 25 March – 11 June 1999.

March

	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Pobjeda	X			X		X	
Politika	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

April

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
		X		X	X				X					X		X	X		X			X	X	X		X		X		X
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X					X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

May

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
						X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			X				X	
	X	X		X	X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X			X			X	X						X	X		

June

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
					X			X	X	X	X*
	X	X	X	X					X		X

\* the article in which Marović is the main character

An example of a footing diagram

An example of a footing diagram

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## Appendix: Chapter 6

Date Year: 1999	POLITIKA	POBJEDA
25/3	Slobodan Milošević	--
26/3	<i>Predsednik Milošević na sastanku najvišeg rukovodstva zemlje</i> President Milošević on meeting of the highest leadership of the country	
27/8	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa najodgovornijim funkcionerima organa unutrašnjih poslova i službi bezbednosti.</i> President Milošević in conversation with the most responsible functionaries of the organs of internal affairs and department of security	
28/3	<b>PREDSEDNİK MILOŠEVIĆ U RAZGOVORU SA GOSTIMA IZ UKRAJINE</b> <b>PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ IN CONVERSATION WITH THE GUESTS FROM UKRAINE</b>	<i>Jedinstveno: sa jučerašnjeg sastanka u Podgorici</i> Unitedly: from yesterday's meeting in Podgorica
29/3	<i>Predsednik Republike i vrhovni komandant oružanih snaga Jugoslavije Slobodan Milošević na sastanku sa najvišim državnim i vojnim rukovodiocima</i> President of the Republic and the high commander of the armed forces of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milošević on the meeting with the highest government and army leaders	
30/3		Milo Đukanović
31/3	<i>Predsednik Republike Slobodan Milošević u razgovoru sa premijerom Ruske Federacije Jevgenijem Primakovom i njegovim saradnicima</i> President of the Republic Slobodan Milošević in conversation with the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Yevgeny Primakov and his associates	
1/4	<i>Predsjednik Milošević u razgovoru sa najodgovornijim državnim rukovodiocima naše zemlje</i> President Milošević in conversation with the most responsible government leaders of our country	
2/4	<i>Predsednik Republike Milošević u razgovoru sa dr Rugovom juče u Beogradu</i> President of the Republic Milošević in conversation with dr. Rugova yesterday in Belgrade	<i>APEL ZA MIR: Sa jučerašnjeg prijema kod predsjednika Republike</i> APPEAL FOR PEACE: from yesterday's reception at the President of the Republic
3/4	<i>Predsjednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Rusije i Belorusije</i> President Milošević in conversation with the guests from Russia and Belorussia	
4/4	<b>PREDSEDNİK MILOŠEVIĆ PREDSEDAVA SASTANKOM SA NAJVIŠIM DRŽAVNIM FUNKCIONERIMA U ZEMLJI</b> <b>PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ LEADS THE MEETING WITH THE HIGHEST GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES IN THE COUNTRY</b>	--
5/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa guvernerom</i>	<b>SA JUČERAŠNJEG SASTANKA</b>

	<i>Vlatkovićem, premijerom Marjanovićem i potpredsjednikom Savezne vlade Zebićem</i> President Milošević in talks with the governer Vlatković, Prime Minister Marjanović and vice president of the Federal government Zebić	DRŽAVNOG RUKOVODSTVA I RUKOVODSTVA MUP-a CRNE GORE FROM YESTERDAY'S MEETING WITH THE GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP OF MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF MONTENEGRO
6/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević predsedava sastanku</i> President Milošević is presiding a meeting	
7/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Grčke</i> President Milošević in conversation with the guests from Greece	
8/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Rusije</i> President Milošević in conversation with the guests from Russia	
9/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Mađarske</i> President Milošević in conversation with the guests from Hungary	Milo Đukanović
10/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Italije</i> President Milošević in conversation with the guests from Italy	
11/4	<i>PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ NA JUČERAŠNJEM SASTANKU</i> PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING	
12/3		
13/3	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa Bulatovićem, Mikićem, Božovićem i Jovanovićem</i> President Milošević in conversation with Bulatović, Mikić, Božović and Jovanović	
14/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević sa delegacijom omladine sedam grčkih političkih partija</i> President Milošević with the youth delegation of seven Greek political parties	--
15/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević i predsednik Lukašenko daju izjave posle razgovora</i> President Milošević and the president Lukashenko give statements after the meeting	
16/4	--	ODLUČNOST: Sa jučerašnjeg sastanka najvišeg državnog rukovodstva DECISIVENESS: from yesterday's meeting of the highest government leadership
17/4	--	--
18/4	<i>PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ SA NAJODGOVORNIJIM DRŽAVNIM FUNKCIONERIMA</i> PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ WITH THE MOST RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES	--
19/4	--	--
20/4	--	
21/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević i patrijarh Aleksije Drugi</i>	



	<i>daju izjave posle razgovora Patrijarha Aleksija pozdravili su i supruga predsednika dr Mira Marković i sin Marko</i> President Milošević and Patriarch Aleksy the Second give statements after the meeting Patriarch Aleksey was greeted by the wife of the president dr Mira Marković and his son Marko	
22/4	--	Milo Đukanović
23/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom predsednika Rusije Černomyrdinom</i> President Milošević in conversation with Chernomyrdin, the special envoy of the president of Russia	<i>SA JUČERAŠNJEG PRIJEMA KOD PREDSJEDNIKA REPUBLIKE</i> FROM YESTERDAY'S RECEPTION AT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
24/4	Predsednik Milošević	Patrijarh Aleksij; Milo Đukanović Patriarch Aleksey
25/4	<i>PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ NA JUČERAŠNJEM SASTANKU SA NAJODGOVORNIJIM FUNKCIONERIMA</i> PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING WITH THE MOST RESPONSIBLE FUNCTIONARIES	
26/4	--	--
27/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa predsednikom MK CK Somarugom</i> President Milošević in conversation with Somaruga, the president of the International Committee of the Red cross	
28/4	<i>Polaganje venca na kojem je ispisano: Palim za slobodu otadžbine – predsednik Republike Slobodan Milošević</i> Laying the wreath on which it was written: to the fallen for the fatherland's freedom – president of the Republic Slobodan Milošević	Milo Đukanović
29/4	No	
30/4	<i>Predsednik Milošević sa najvišim funkcionerima zemlje</i> President Milošević with the highest functionaries of the country	Milo Đukanović
1/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom Černomyrdinom</i> President Milošević in conversation with the special representative Chernomyrdin	
2/5	<i>PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ U RAZGOVORU SA DŽESIJE DŽEKSONOM</i> PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ IN CONVERSATION WITH JESSY JACKSON	
3/5		
4/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević sa najvišim funkcionerima zemlje na jučerašnjem sastanku</i> President Milošević with the highest functionaries of the country on yesterday's meeting	
5/5		
6/5		<i>SA JUČERAŠNJEG PRIJEMA KOD PREDSJEDNIKA REPUBLIKE</i> FROM YESTERDAY'S RECEPTION AT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
7/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa grčkim političarem Papuljasom</i>	

	President Milošević in conversation with the Greek politician Papuljas	
8/5		
9/5	<i>PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ U RAZGOVORU SA RUSKIM MINISTROM ŠOJGUOM</i> President Milošević in conversation with the Russian minister Shoygu	--
10/5		<i>NAGLAŠEN ZNAČAJ PREDSTOJEĆE KONFERENCIJE O BALKANU:</i> <i>Predsjednik Đukanović i Meri Robinson tokom jučerašnjeg razgovora</i> HIGHLIGHTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COMING CONFERENCE ABOUT THE BALKANS: Predisent Đukanović and Mery Robinson during yesterday's talks
11/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa zamenikom ministra inostranih poslova NR Kine Goudžangom</i> President Milošević in conversation with the vice minister of the external affairs of China Gou Jang	<i>PREDSJEDNIK ĐUKANOVIĆ I IZASLANIK MAKNAMARA PRILIKOM JUČERAŠNJEG SUSRETA</i> PRESIDENT ĐUKANOVIĆ AND THE EMISSARY MCNAMARA DURING YESTERDAY'S MEETING
12/5		<i>OKONČANJE SVIH OBLIKA NASILJA – ŠTO PRIJE: Predsjednik Milo Đukanović i kancelar Gerhard Šreder tokom jučerašnjeg susreta u Bonu</i> THE CESSATION OF ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE – AS SOON AS POSSIBLE: President Milo Đukanović and Chancellor Gerhard Schöeder during yesterday's meeting in Bonn
13/5		<i>SA JUČERAŠNJEG PRIJEMA U VILI 'GORICA' U PODGORICI</i> FROM YESTERDAY'S RECEPTION IN VILLA 'GORICA' IN PODGORICA
14/5		<i>PREDSJEDNIK MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ I KANCELAR VIKTOR KLIMA JUČE U BEČU</i> PRESIDENT MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ AND CHANCELLOR VICTOR KLIMA YESTERDAY IN VIENNA
15/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević sa najvišim funkcionerima zemlje na jučerašnjem sastanku</i> President Milošević with the highest functionaries of the country on yesterday's meeting	<i>DO MIRA ŠTO HITNIJE: Predsjednik Đukanović i Širak juče na ulazu u Jelisejsku palatu</i> TOWARDS THE PEACE AS FAST AS POSSIBLE: President Đukanović and president Chirac yesterday at the entrance to the Elysée Palace
16/5		<i>RAZUMNA POLITIKA: CRNOGORSKI PREDSJEDNIK ĐUKANOVIĆ I FRANCUSKI PREMIJER ŽOSIM JUČE U PARIZU</i> RATIONAL POLITICS: MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT ĐUKANOVIĆ AND FRENCH PRIME

		MINISTER JOSIN YESTERDAY IN PARIS
17/5		MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ
18/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević na sastanku sa najvišim funkcionerima zemlje</i> President Milošević on the meeting with the highest functionaries of the country	<i>Predsjednik Milo Đukanović juče u Briselu sa Joškom Fišerom i Hansom van Den Brukom</i> President Milo Đukanović yesterday in Brussels with Joschka Fischer and Hans Van den Brook
19/5		
20/5		
21/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom Černomirdinom</i> President Milošević in conversation with the special representative Chernomyrdin	--
22/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Grčke</i> President Milošević in conversation with the guests from Greece	
23/5		--
24/5		
25/5		
26/5		MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ I TONI BLER TOKOM JUČERAŠNJEG SUSRETA MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ AND TONY BLAIR DURING YESTERDAY'S MEETING
27/5		
28/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević prilikom susreta sa grčkim političarom Macotakisom</i> President Milošević during the meeting with the Greek politician Matsotakis	
29/5	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom Černomiridinom</i> President Milošević in conversation with the special representative Chernomyrdin	
30/5		--
31/5		
1/6	<i>Predsednik Milošević na sastanku sa najvišim funkcionerima zemlje</i> President Milošević on meeting with the highest functionaries of the country	
2/6	<i>Predsednik Milošević zajedno sa gostima iz Japana</i> President Milošević together with the guests from Japan	<i>Milo Đukanović i Kiro Gligorov, juče prilikom susreta u Skoplju</i> Milo Đukanović and Kiro Gligorov, yesterday during the meeting in Skoplje
3/6	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa Černomridinom i Atisarijem</i> President Milošević in conversation with Chernomyrdin and Ahtisari	
4/6	<i>Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa Atisarijem i Černomridinom</i> President Milošević in conversation with Ahtisari and Chernomyrdin	
5/6		PATRIJARH PAVLE, PREDSEDNICI ĐUKANOVIĆ I MAROVIĆ, JUČE POSLLJE RAZGOVORA NA CETINJU

		PATRIARCH PAVLE, PRESIDENTS ĐUKANOVIĆ AND MAROVIĆ, YESTERDAY AFTER THE MEETING ON CETINJE
6/6		
7/6		
8/6		MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ
9/6		JASNI STAVOVI: MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ CLEAR STANDPOINTS: MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ
10/6		MEDLIN OLBRAJT I MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ JUČE U KELNU MADLEIN ALBRIGHT AND MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ YESTERDAY IN KÖLN
11/6	Slobodan Milošević	Svetozar Marović
TABLE 1: Captions in <i>Politika</i> and <i>Pobjeda</i> ; capital letters are kept as in the newspapers		

POLITIKA	POBJEDA
<b>Noun phrases:</b> <i>Zlikovačka agresija</i> evil aggression - repeated every day from 26/3-10/6/99 <i>Genocid</i> (27/3) genocide <i>Horde kriminalaca, ubice</i> hordes of criminals, killers (4/4) <i>Neofašizam</i> (9/4) neo fascism <i>Fašiste, ubice</i> (24/4) fascists, killers <i>Inspiratori zla</i> (26/4) inspirators of evil <i>Bombardovanje</i> (2/6) bombing <i>Ratnička banda</i> (11/4) war gang <i>Masakrirana kolona izbjeglica</i> (15/4) massacred the refugee column  <b>Adverbs:</b> <i>Kukavički i podmuklo</i> (5/4) cowardly and insidiously <b>Verb/ verb phrases:</b> <i>Bombarduju i ubijaju</i> (13/4) they are bombing and killing <i>Raketirale centar našeg glavnog grada</i> (4/4) rocketed the center of our capital <i>Satanizuje</i> (24/4)	<b>Infinitive used as imperative:</b> <i>Odmah prekinuti udare</i> (30/3) immediately stop the strikes <i>Odmah prestati</i> (2/4) immediately stop <i>Odmah obustaviti bombardovanje</i> (9/4) immediately seize the bombing <i>Bombardovanje odmah prekinuti</i> (14/5) bombing immediately stop <i>Zaustaviti strahote</i> (23/4) stop the horror  <b>Modal verb</b> <i>Hitno mora prestati</i> (9/5) urgently must stop  <b>Noun phrases:</b> <i>Hitan prestanak nasilja</i> (2/4) urgent stop of the assaults <i>Zahtjev da NATO odmah prekine bombardovanje</i> (16/4) request that NATO immediately stops the bombing  <b>Verbs/verb phrases</b> <i>Tražim da se zaustavi</i> (28/4) I request to be stopped  <i>Zatražio hitnu obustavu bombardovanja</i> (12/5) he asked for urgent cessation of the

satanize <i>Lažu, ubijaju drugačija mišljenja</i> (25/4) they are lying, killing different opinions <i>Ruše centar grada</i> (1/5) they are destroying the center of the city <i>Ubijaju, razaraju krše ljudska prava</i> (9/5) they are killing, destroying human rights <i>Varvari gađali</i> (21/5) barbarians were hitting <i>Masakr... intenzivirali</i> (1/6) massacre... they intensified	bombing <i>Zatražio hitan prekid bombardovanja</i> (18/5) He asked for urgent cessation of the bombing <i>Založio se za hitan prestanak udara</i> (26/5) He asked for urgent cessation of the strikes)
TABLE 2: Examples of intensificatory values of 'quality'	

POLITIKA	POBJEDA
<b>Superlative:</b> <i>Najodgovorniji funkcioneri organa bezbednosti</i> (27/3) The most responsible functionaries from the security <i>Najviši državni i vojni rukovodioci</i> (29/3) The highest government and army leaders <i>Najodgovorniji državni rukovodioci</i> (1/4) The most responsible government leaders <i>Najviši funkcioneri u zemlji</i> (4/4) The highest functionaries in the country <i>Najviše državne počasti</i> (15/4) The highest government honours <i>Najodgovorniji funkcioneri</i> (24/4) The most responsible functionaries <i>Najviši funkcioneri</i> (30/4, 4/5, 15/5, 18/5, 1/6, 4/6) The highest functionaries <i>Najsramniji oružani napad</i> (23/4) The most shameful army attack <i>Najteži oružani napad</i> (1/4) The heaviest armed attack <i>Najvažnija pitanja</i> (15/5) The most important questions  <b>Other:</b> <i>Visoka patriotska svest</i> (29/3) High patriotic conscience  <i>Čvrsto jedinstvo naroda</i> Strong unity of the people <i>Specijalni izaslanik</i> Special emissary  <i>Teški zločin</i> (26/3)	<b>Superlative:</b> <i>Najodgovorniji u Jugoslaviji</i> (2/4) The most responsible in Yugoslavia <i>Najteža iskušenja</i> (17/4) The heaviest trials <i>U najkraćem roku</i> (14/5) In the shortest time-limit  <b>Other:</b> <i>Izuzetan značaj</i> (28/3) Exceptional importance <i>Intenzivni kontakti</i> (13/4) Intensive contacts <i>Snažan zahtjev</i> Heavy request <i>Teški kosovski problem</i> (2/4) Difficult Kosovo problem <i>Sadamovski izdržati</i> (30/3) Endure like Saddam (Hussein) <i>Potpuno nevini ljudi</i> (30/3) Totally innocent people <i>Krajnje neodgovorna politika</i> (8/6) Highly irresponsible politics <i>Veoma značajno; veoma važno</i> (26/4) Very significant; very important <i>Veoma dramatično ponavljam</i> (30/3) Very dramatically I repeat

Heavy crime <i>Težak kriminalni akt</i> (3/4) Heavy criminal act <i>Težak zločin</i> (8/4) Heavy crime <i>Teška humanitarna situacija na Kosovu i Metohiji</i> (25/4) Difficult humanitarian situation in Kosovo and Metohija	
TABLE 3: Examples of high or maximal values of measure	

## Appendix: Chapter 7

### OBRAĆANJE PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE MILA ĐUKANOVIĆA GRAĐANIMA CRNE GORE

*The address by the president of the Republic Milo Đukanović to the citizens of Montenegro*

#### POZIVAM SVE NA PRISEBNOST, UZDRŽANOST, MIR I SLOGU

*I am calling upon presence of mind, restraining, peace and unity*

**25.03.99**

Od predsjednika republike SRJ tražim da prekine sa politikom koja dovodi do kolektivnog stradanja nedužnih i koja ugrožava opstanak države. Istovremeno, od međunarodne zajednice zahtijevamo da se uzdrži od novih udara po ciljevima u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji.

*I ask the president of FRY to stop with the politics that leads to collective suffering of the innocent people and which threatens country's existence. At the same time we ask from the international community to restrain itself from new strikes on targets in Montenegro and Yugoslavia.*

1. Večeras se, na žalost, desilo ono na šta smo mjesecima upozoravali – izvršeni su udari NATO avijacije po vojnim ciljevima u Saveznoj Republici Jugoslaviji.

*This evening, unfortunately, that what we have been warning against for months happened– the NATO aviation strikes on military targets in FRY were effectuated.*

2. Večeras su NATO bombe pale i na teritoriju Crne Gore.

*This evening, the NATO bombs fell also on the Montenegrin territory.*

3. U tim napadima stradali su vojni objekti, a na žalost i ljudi.

*In those attacks, the military object, and unfortunately people suffered.*

4. To su tragične posljedice jedne bezumne politike konfrontacije sa cijelim svijetom.

*Those are the tragic consequences of an irrational political confrontation with the whole world.*

5. Ta politika uvela je našu zemlju u opasnu avanturu čiji su ulog mir i životi građana.

*That politics brought our country into a dangerous adventure with peace and citizens' lives at stake.*

6. Ovo je obraćajući se kasno večeras javnosti, istakao Milo Đukanović, predsjednik Republike Crne Gore.

*This was emphasized, while addressing the public late yesterday evening by Milo Đukanović, the president of the Republic of Montenegro.*

7. Crna Gora, nastavio je predsjednik Đukanović, učinila je sve da spriječi tu samoubilačku avanturu dalekosežnih i nesagledivo štetnih posljedica.

*Montenegro, continued president Đukanović, did everything to prevent this suicidal adventure with long reaching and incalculably harmful consequences.*

8. Do nje je ipak došlo, bez ikakve krivice Crne Gore.

*It happened anyway, without any guilt on the part of Montenegro.*

9. Sve ključne faktore u zemlji u međunarodnoj zajednici uporno smo upozoravali da se kosovski problem ne može riješiti bilo čijom silom; pa ni silom međunarodnih vojnih snaga.

*We have persistently warned all the key factor in the country and the international community that the Kosovo problem could not be solved by anybody's force; and not even with the force of the international military forces.*

10. Jer, sila neće donijeti mir ni Kosovu, ni Srbiji, ni Jugoslaviji.

*Because the force will not bring peace neither to Kosovo, nor to Serbia nor to Yugoslavia.*

11. Zato apelujem još jednom na sve najodgovornije u zemlji i na međunarodnu zajednicu, da se vrate miroljubivom sporazumu za Kosovo.

*Because of that I appeal once again to the most responsible in the country and to the international community, to come back to the peaceful agreement for Kosovo.*

12. Naša budućnost nije u sukobljavanju sa cijelim svijetom, i zato tražimo od predsjednika SRJ da prekine sa politikom koja dovodi do kolektivnog stradanja nedužnih i ugrožava opstanak države.

*Our future is not in the conflict with the whole world, and that is why we are asking from the president of FRY to stop with the politics that leads to the collective suffering of the innocent and threatens the survival of the state.*

13. Istovremeno od međunarodne zajednice zahtijevamo da se uzdrži od daljih udara po ciljevima u CG i Jugoslaviji.

*At the same time, from the international community we request to constrain themselves from further strikes on the aims in Montenegro and Yugoslavia.*

14. Mi se moramo okrenuti miru u zemlji i konsolidaciji odnosa i saradnji sa međunarodnom zajednicom što je naša jedina perspektiva.

*We have to turn to the peace in the country and the consolidation of the relations in cooperation with the international community, which is our only perspective.*

15. Tragičan epilog kosovske krize najdirektnije ugrožava i mir u Crnoj Gori, koja je danas jedini glas razuma sa ovih prostora.

*The tragic epilog of the Kosovo crisis, most directly threatens the peace in Montenegro, which is today the only voice of reason in these parts.*

16. To uvažava cijela međunarodna zajednica, ali na žalost zbog pogrešne politike sa vrha savezne države, čiji smo dio, nijesmo pošteđeni vojnih sankcija.

*That is taken into consideration by the whole international community, but, unfortunately, because of the wrong politics from the top of the federal government, which we are part of, we are not spared from military sanctions.*

17. Na nama je u Crnoj Gori, na svim političkim subjektima, državnim organima, i svim građanima, da očuvamo mir, da obezbijedimo građansku sigurnost i dobre međunarodne odnose.



*It is upon us in Montenegro, upon all political subjects, government organs, and all citizens, to keep peace, to ensure citizen safety and good relations between different nationalities.*

18. Državni organi Crne Gore potpuno su spremni da to garantuju i sposobni da se suprotstave svim mogućim provokacijama unutar ili izvan naše Republike.  
*The government organs of Montenegro are fully ready to guarantee that and capable of resisting all possible provocation from inside and outside of our Republic.*

19. obraćam vam se kao predsjednik svih građana u ovim teškim trenucima iskušenja za Crnu Goru i SRJ, i pozivam na prisebnost i uzdržanost, na mir i slogu, na prevazilaženje svih svađa i podjela, koje su kroz istoriju skupo koštale Crnu Goru.  
*I address you as the president of all citizens in these difficult moments of trial for Montenegro and FRY, and I am calling upon presence of mind, restraining, peace and unity.*

20. U interesu najsvetlijeg cilja – očuvanja Crne Gore i života njenih građana.  
*In the interest of the brightest aim – the preserving of Montenegro and the lives of its citizens.*

21. U ime budućnosti današnjih, i generacija koje će doći.  
*In the name of the future of todays and the generations to come.*

22. Pozivam građane Crne Gore sve partije i sve političke subjekte, da ostvarenju tog najvažnijeg i najdragocjenijeg cilja daju svoj maksimalan doprinos.  
*I call upon all citizens of Montenegro, all parties and all political subjects, to give their maximum contributions to achievement of that most important and most precious aim.*

23. Ne dozvolite da bilo ko danas okrene Crnogorce jedne protiv drugih, ili protiv bilo koga drugog, da okrene Crnogorce protiv Crne Gore, i da prolivanjem naše krvi namiruje svoje političke račune.  
*Don't let anybody today turn Montenegrins against each other, or against anybody else, to turn Montenegrins against Montenegro, and by spilling our blood pay their own political bills.*

24. Poštovani građani bez obzira na težinu situacije, nema mjesta strahu i uznemirenosti.  
*Respected citizens, no matter how difficult the situation is, there is no place for fear and uneasiness.*

25. Demokratska i organizovana Crna Gora sposobna je da pokaže svu svoju snagu i u ovakvim, najtežim iskušenjima.  
*The democratic and organized Montenegro is capable to show its power even in these, most difficult temptations.*

26. Savremena Crna Gora spremna je da istorijskom zrelošću i razumom današnjih generacija, kao i snagom svoje države, odgovori na najveće izazove.

*The contemporary Montenegro is ready to, with the historical maturity and reason of today's generations, as well as with the power of its state, answer the biggest challenges.*

27. Državno rukovodstvo Crne Gore i u ovim teškim danima biće, kao i do sada, zajedno sa svojim narodom, u stalnoj vezi sa demokratskom javnošću u zemlji, i sa ključnim faktorima međunarodne zajednice.

*The state leadership of Montenegro will, in these difficult days, as well as it has until now, stay together with its people, in constant connection with the democratic public in the country, and with the key factors in the international community.*

28. Razum, mir i sloga naša su najjača odbrana i zaloga naše sigurne budućnosti, zaključio je predsjednik Republike Crne Gore Milo Đukanović.

*Reason, peace and togetherness are our strongest defense and the stake of our secure future, concluded the president of Montenegro – Milo Đukanović.*

## **OBRAĆANJE NACIJI PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE**

### **The address to the nation by the president of the Republic**

### **POLITIKA – 25.3.99**

**Opredeljeni smo za dve glavne stvari – da nastavimo politički proces sa svom upornošću, jer smatram da su istina i pravda na našoj strani, ali i da branimo zemlju svim sredstvima u meri u kojoj ona bude napadnuta.**

*We are devoted to two main things: to persistently continue the political process, because I believe that the truth and justice are on our side, but also to protect the country with all means in measure in which it will be attacked.*

Slobodan Milošević u svojoj izjavi kaže da je jedina ispravna odluka koja se i mogla doneti bila je odbijanje da se strane trupe prihvate na našoj teritoriji, međutim, uprkos tome mi želimo da nastavimo uporno zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema na Kosovu i Metohiji. - Svi građani doprineće odbrani zemlje ako uspešno obavljaju svoje redovne radne zadatke: na taj način će najbolje pomoći i snagama državne odbrane, Vojsci Jugoslavije i snagama unutrašnjih poslova da obave svoje zadatke u odbrani suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta zemlje.

*Slobodan Milošević says in his statement that the only right decision that could have been made was to reject the acceptance of the foreign troops on our territory.*

*Nevertheless, in spite of this, we want to persistently continue the peaceful resolution of the problems in Kosovo and Metohija. All citizens will contribute in defending of the country if they successfully do their everyday working tasks: in that way they will help in the best way to the forces of the state defense, the Yugoslav Army and the forces of the internal affairs to do their tasks of protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.*

1. Predsednik SRJ Slobodan Milošević obratio se juče po podne jugoslovenskoj javnosti.

*The president of FRY addressed yesterday afternoon the Yugoslav public.*

2. U obraćanju naciji predsednik Milošević je rekao:

*In his address to the nation president Milošević said:*

3. Dragi građani, smatram da je Narodna Skupština veoma ispravno postupila kada je donela odluku da ne prihvati prisustvo stranih trupa na našoj teritoriji.

*Dear citizens, I believe that the National assembly acted in a very right way when it made a decision not to accept the presence of foreign troops on our territory.*

4. Ovu odluku Narodna Skupština je donela jednoglasno, što izražava jedinstvo svih građana naše zemlje i njihovo jedinstveno opredeljenje za nezavisnost i slobodu i slobodan razvoj naše države i svih njenih građana.

*This decision the National assembly made unanimously, which expresses the unity of all citizens of our country and their unanimous devotion to independence and freedom and free development of our country and its all citizens.*

5. Ovdje nije bilo u pitanju samo Kosovo, mada je i Kosovo za nas od ogromne važnosti, ovdje je u pitanju sloboda čitave naše zemlje, a Kosovo bi samo predstavljalo vrata kroz koja je trebalo da uđu strane trupe i da dovedu u pitanje upravo te najveće vrednosti.

*Here not only Kosovo was the question, even though Kosovo is of enormous importance for us, but Kosovo would only represent the doors through which the foreign troops would enter and question exactly those biggest values.*

6. Izabrali su ta vrata zbog toga što se pretpostavljalo da na njima treba da stoji albanski separatistički pokret, a ne vojska Jugoslavije, a ne građani ove zemlje u celini, i da na taj način naša zemlja, korak po korak, ali veoma brzo izgubi svoju slobodu.

*They chose those doors because it was presumed that the Albanian separatist movement would stand on them, and not the Yugoslav army, and not the citizens of this whole country and in that way, our country, step by step, but very quickly loses its liberty.*

7. Jedina ispravna odluka koja se i mogla doneti bila je odbijanje da se strane trupe prihvate na našoj teritoriji.

*The only correct decision which could have been made was the rejection of foreign troops being accepted on our territory.*

8. Međutim, uprkos toga mi želimo da nastavimo uporno zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema na Kosovu i Metohiji.

*Nevertheless, in spite of this, we wish to continue our persistent devotion to peaceful resolution of the problems on Kosovo and Metohija.*

9. Mi iskreno verujemo da se dugoročno problemi na Kosovu i Metohiji mogu rešiti samo mirnim i političkim sredstvima.

*We sincerely believe that on long terms, problems on Kosovo and Metohija can be solved only with peaceful and political means.*

10. Pritom mi insistiramo na ključnom pitanju koje je bilo predmet zalaganja naše delegacije u Rambujeu i predmet svih naših zalaganja u kontaktima koje smo imali sa predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice.

*With that, we insist on the key question which was the subject of our delegation's insistence in Rambouillet and the subject of all our insistences in contacts which we had with representatives of the international community.*

11. To ključno pitanje je naše zalaganje za ravnopravnost svih nacionalnih zajednica.

*That key question is our devotion to equality of all national communities.*

12. Onaj politički sporazum, koji obezbedi ravnopravno postavljanje svih nacionalnih zajednica na Kosovu i Metohiji – i Albanaca i Srba i Crnogoraca i muslimana i Turaka i Goranaca i Roma i Egipćana, ima šansu da uspe, i da stabilizuje našu južnu pokrajinu, da obezbedi mir i stabilnost u čitavoj zemlji.

*That political agreement which ensures equal alignment of all national communities on Kosovo and Metohija: Albanians, and Serbs and Montenegrins and Moslems and Turks and Gorans and Roma and Egyptians, has a chance to succeed and to stabilize our southern province, to ensure peace and stability in the whole country.*

13. Mi ćemo u našem nastojanju da postignemo politički sporazum i da se nastavi politički proces istrajati na takvom zalaganju.

*We will, in our political intentions to achieve political agreement and to continue the political process, persist in our intentions.*

14. U tom smislu želim da naglasim da u celini podržavam postupke naše delegacije u Rambujeu i Parizu i postupke predsednika Milutinovića i njegove stavove o ovim ključnim pitanjima od kojih zavisi budućnost Kosova i Metohije i rekao bih, čitave Srbije, jer se ovde radi o celoj zemlji, a ne samo o Kosovu i Metohiji, ma koliko nam ono bilo važno i ma koliko ono stvarno bilo važno za sve građane ove naše zemlje u celini.

*In that sense, I want to underline that at whole I support the actions of our delegation in Rambouillet and Paris and actions of the president Milutinović and his positions about this key question form which depends the future of Kosovo and Metohija and I would say entire Serbia, because here it is about entire country, and not only about*

*Kosovo and Metohija, no matter how much it is important and no matter how really important it would be for all citizens of this entire country of ours.*

15. U ovom trenutku kada smo izloženi pretnjama i opasnosti od napada NATO pakta svako treba da radi svoj posao.

*In this moment when we are exposed to threats and danger from NATO pact's attack everybody should do their job.*

16. Svi građani doprineće odbrani zemlje ako uspešno obavljaju svoje redovne radne zadatke u proizvodnji, zdravstvu, školstvu, kulturnim institucijama.

*All citizens will contribute to defending of the country if they successfully do their normal working tasks in production, healthcare, education, cultural institutions.*

17. Na taj način će najbolje pomoći i snagama državne odbrane, Vojsci Jugoslavije i snagama unutrašnjih poslova da obave svoje zadatke u odbrani suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta zemlje.

*In that way they will help in the best way to the forces of state defense, the Yugoslav Army and the forces of the internal affairs to do their tasks of protections of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.*

18. Dakle opredeljeni smo za dve glavne stvari – da nastavimo politički proces sa svom upornošću, jer smatram da su istina i pravda na našoj strani, ali i da branimo zemlju svim sredstvima u meri u kojoj ona bude napadnuta.

*Thus, we are devoted to two main things: to continue the political process with whole persistence, because I believe that the truth and justice are on our side, but also to protect the country with all means in measure in which it will be attacked.*

19. Na tome svako treba da da svoj puni doprinos, pre svega svojim radom.

*To that everybody should give their full contribution, before everything with their work.*

Appendix: Chapter 8

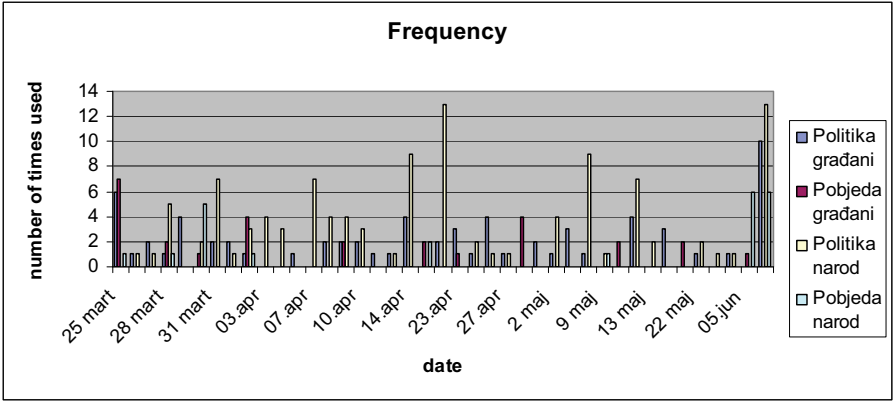


TABLE 1: Frequency of *narod* and *građani* in *Politika* and *Pobjeda*

POLITIKA		POBJEDA	
Narod	Građani	Narod	Građani
114 times in 28 articles 4 x	69 times in 29 articles 2,3 x	23 times in 8 articles 2,8 x	28 times in 11 articles 2,5 x

TABLE 2: Average frequency of *narod* and *građani*

<b>NAROD AS VICTIMS</b>	<b>NAROD AS DEFENDERS OF THE COUNTRY</b>	<b>NAROD AS HEROS</b>
(26/3) <i>Teški zločin protiv naroda SRJ</i> - Heavy crime against the people of FRY	(27/3) <i>Jedinstvo naroda i oružanih snaga</i> - Unity of the people and military forces	(31/3) <i>Naš herojski narod</i> - Our heroic people
(28/3) <i>Diktat sile i zločina nad narodima koji ne pristaju na potčinjavanje</i> - Dictation of power and crime against the people who do not accept to subdue	(28/3) <i>Naš narod brani svoju otadžbinu</i> - Our people are defending their fatherland	
(7/4) <i>Zločin koji se vrši nad narodom Jugoslavije</i> - Crime being committed on Yugoslav people	(30/3) <i>Narod i vojska naše zemlje vode tešku, pravednu borbu</i> - People and army of our country lead heavy, just fight	(11/6) <i>Narod je heroj</i> -The people are the hero
(8/4) <i>Besprimeran i težak zločin protiv celog naroda jedne suverene zemlje</i> – Unprecedented and heavy crime against all people of a sovereign country	(2/4) <i>Narod koji se bori za svoju slobodu ne može nikad biti pobeđen</i> – People who fight for their own freedom can never be defeated	
(14/4) <i>Bezumni napad na narod SRJ</i> – Mindless attack on people of FRY	(3/4) <i>Odbrana otadžbine najviše pravo, dužnost i interes naroda</i> – Defense of fatherland is the highest right, responsibility and interest of the people	
(21/4) <i>Obrušili na narod Jugoslavije; stradanja naroda Jugoslavije</i> – Attack on people of Yugoslavia; suffering of people of Yugoslavia	(4/4) <i>Slobodarski duh našeg naroda</i> – freedomloving spirit of our people	
(7/5) <i>NATO agresija uperena protiv naroda jedne suverene zemlje</i> – NATO aggression directed against people of a sovereign country	(7/4) <i>U borbi za svoju slobodu naš narod će izdržati teškoće</i> – While fighting for their freedom, our people will endure difficulties	
(9/5) <i>NATO agresijom kojoj je</i>	(8/4) <i>Naš narod će odbraniti</i>	

<i>izložena cela Jugoslavija i njen narod</i> – NATO aggression that whole Yugoslavia and its people is exposed to	<i>svoju zemlju</i> - our people will defend our country	
(11/5) <i>Narod naše zemlje izložen bombardovanju</i> – People of our country are exposed to bombing	(14/4) <i>Odlučna odbrana našeg naroda; borba našeg naroda za slobodu; narod Jugoslavije je odlučan da istraje u svojoj borbi</i> – The resolute defense of our people; fight of our people for its freedom; people of Yugoslavia are resolute to endure in its fight	
	(21/4) <i>Naš narod brani svoju slobodu; naš narod bori se za slobodu i nezavisnost</i> – Our people defend their freedom; our people are fighting for freedom and independence	
	(7/5) <i>Otpor naroda Jugoslavije diktatu sile</i> – Resistance of Yugoslav people to power dictation	
	(13/5) <i>U duhu slobodarskih tradicija našeg naroda</i> - In spirit of freedom loving tradition of our people	

TABLE 3 : *Narod* as represented in *Politika*

<b>NAROD AS VICTIMS</b>	<b>NAROD AS ACTIVE</b>
(30/3) <i>Nezaslužena narodna nevolja</i> – undeserved suffering of people <i>Stradanje Srbije i njenog naroda</i> – suffering of Serbia and its people	(30/3) <i>Odakle ih je narod već eliminisao [političko rukovodstvo FRJ]</i> – from where people already eliminated them [political leadership of FRY]



<i>Njegova [Miloševićeva] – politika, navodno u ime naroda</i> – his [Milošević's] politics, reputedly on behalf of the people	
(9/5) <i>Sukob koji ima tragične posljedica po naš narod –</i> Conflict that has tragic consequences for our people	(30/3) <i>Slijedimo interes našeg naroda –</i> We follow the interest of our people
(5/6) <i>[Odluka koja] će zaustaviti stradanje i pogibiju našeg naroda - [decisions which] will stop suffering and dying of our people</i> <i>[Odluke donesene] nakon već gotovog stradanja kroz koje je prošao naš narod i naša država;</i> [Decisions made] after already finished suffering through which our people and our country passed <i>Nanesene su krupne rane čitavom narodu koji živi u Jugoslaviji –</i> Big wounds were inflicted upon all people who live in Yugoslavia	

TABLE 4: *Narod* as represented in *Pobjeda*

a) *PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ U RAZGOVORU SA GOSTIMA IZ UKRAJINE (28/3)*

PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ IN CONVERSATION WITH THE GUESTS FROM UKRAINA

b) *Predsednik Republike Slobodan Milošević u razgovoru sa premijerom Ruske Federacije Jevgenijem Primakovom i njegovim saradnicima (31/3)*

President of the Republic, Slobodan Milošević in conversation with PM of the Russian Federation Jevgenij Primakov and his associates

c) *Predsjednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Rusije i Belorusije (3/4)*

President Milošević in conversation with guests from Russia and Belorussia

d) *Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Grčke (7/4)*

President Milošević in conversation with guests from Greece

e) *Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Rusije (8/4)*

President Milošević in conversation with guests from Russia  
*f) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Mađarske (9/4)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with guests from Hungary  
*g) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Italije (10/4)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with guests from Italy  
*h) Predsednik Milošević sa delegacijom omladine sedam grčkih političkih partija (14/4)*  
 President Milošević with youth delegation of seven Greek political parties  
*i) Predsednik Milošević i predsednik Lukašenko daju izjave posle razgovora (15/4)*  
 President Milošević and president Lukashenko give statements after the talks  
*j) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom predsednika Rusije Černomyrdinom (23/4)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with Chernomyrdin, the special envoy from the president of Russia  
*k) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa predsednikom MK CK Somarugom (27/4)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with the president of ICRC Somaruga  
*l) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom Černomyrdinom (1/5)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with the special envoy, Chernomyrdin  
*m) PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ U RAZGOVORU SA DŽESIJE DŽEKSONOM (2/5)*  
 PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ IN CONVERSATION WITH JESSY JACKSON  
*n) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa grčkim političarem Papuljasom (7/5)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with Greek politician Papuljas  
*o) PREDSEDNIK MILOŠEVIĆ U RAZGOVORU SA RUSKIM MINISTROM ŠOJGUOM (9/5)*  
 PRESIDENT MILOŠEVIĆ IN CONVERSATION WITH THE RUSSIAN MINISTAR SHOYGU  
*p) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa zamenikom ministra inostranih poslova NR Kine Goudžangom (11/5)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with vice minister of foregin affairs of China Gou Jang  
*r) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom Černomyrdinom (21/5)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with the special envoy Chernomyrdin  
*s) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa gostima iz Grčke (22/5)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with guests from Greece  
*t) Predsednik Milošević prilikom susreta sa grčkim političarom Macotakisom (28/5)*  
 President Milošević while meeting Greek politician Macotakis  
*u) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa specijalnim izaslanikom Černomyrdinom (29/5)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with the special envoy Chernomyrdin  
*v) Predsednik Milošević zajedno sa gostima iz Japana (2/6)*  
 President Milošević together with the guests from Japan  
*w) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa Černomyrdinom i Atisarijem (3/6)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with Chernomyrdin and Ahtisari  
*y) Predsednik Milošević u razgovoru sa Atisarijem i Černomyrdinom (4/6)*  
 President Milošević in conversation with Ahtisari and Chernomyrdin

TABLE 5: Captions in *Politika*

*a) U poruci kineskog predsednika Cemina se naglašava da narod i vojska naše zemlje vode tešku, pravednu borbu za odbranu državnog suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta od flagrantnog napada NATO-a na čelu sa SAD i da kineski narod izražava prijateljsku solidarnost i snažnu podršku narodu SRJ. (30/3:2)*

In the message by president Tze Min, it was highlighted that people and army of our country lead difficult, just fight for defense of our state sovereignty and territorial integrity from the flagrant attack of NATO led by USA and that the Chinese people express friendly solidarity and strong support to the people of FRY.

*b) Visoki državni rukovodioci su preneli snažnu podršku i izraze solidarnosti ruskog naroda narodu Jugoslavije u odbrani od agresora. (31/3:5)*

High state officials conveyed strong support and expressions of solidarity from the Russian people to the people of Yugoslavia in their defense from the aggressor.

*c) Gosti su preneli izraze snažne podrške, divljenja i solidarnosti naroda Rusije i Bjelorusije prema našem narodu. (3/4:2)*

The guests conveyed the expressions of strong support, admiration and solidarity from people of Russia and Belorussia towards our people.

*d) Gost iz Grčke preneo je predsedniku Miloševiću izraze prijateljskih osećanja i velike podrške grčkog naroda – narodu Jugoslavije, koji se odučno brani od NATO agresije. (7/4:2)*

Guests from Greece conveyed to the president Milošević the expressions of friendly feelings and big support from the Greek people – to the people of Yugoslavia, who are decisively defending itself from the NATO aggression.

*e) Rusija najoštrije osuđuje zločinačku agresiju NATO na SRJ i zahteva da odmah bude prekinuta, rekao je Genadij Seleznyov. (8/4:2)*

Russia condemns most strongly the criminal aggression by NATO on FRY and demands that it be immediately stopped, said Genadiy Seleznyov

*f) Đula Tirmer je osudio zločinačku agresiju NATO na Jugoslaviju i prenio predsedniku Miloševiću izraze podrške i solidarnosti članova svoje partije narodu i rukovodstvu Jugoslavije (9/4:2)*

Dyula Tirmer condemned the criminal aggression by NATO on Yugoslavia and conveyed to president Milošević the expressions of support and solidarity of the members of his party to the people and leadership of Yugoslavia

*g) Gost iz Italije upoznao je predsednika sa zalaganjima njegove partije za obustavljanje NATO agresije na Jugoslaviju, koju osuđuje čitav slobodoljubivi svet. (10/4:2)*

The guest from Italy acquainted the president with the efforts of his party for stopping NATO aggression on Yugoslavia, that was being condemned by whole freedom-loving world.

*h) Ugledni nemački političar – šef Poslaničke grupe svoje partije u Bundestagu, osudio je NATO agresiju na SRJ i upoznao predsednika Miloševića sa stavovima snažnog protivljenja njegove partije zločinačkim i bezumnim napadima NATO na narod Jugoslavije. (15/4:B2)*

The renowned German politicians – chief of his party's Parliamentary group in Bundestag, condemned NATO aggression on FRY and acquainted president Milošević with the attitudes of strong resistance of his party of criminal and mindless attacks of NATO on the people of Yugoslavia.

*i) U veoma srdačnom i prijateljskom razgovoru, koji je vođen u duhu visokog razumevanja i čvrstog prijateljstva naroda Jugoslavije i Rusije, ruski patrijarh Aleksije izrazio je snažnu podršku i preneo jednodušna osećanja solidarnosti ruskog naroda sa bratskim narodom Jugoslavije, koji se odlučno brani od agresije NATO-a. (21/4:4)*

In a very hearty and friendly conversation, that was led in spirit of high understanding and strong friendship of people of Yugoslavia and Russia, the Russian patriarch Aleksey expressed strong support and conveyed feelings of solidarity of Russian people with the brotherly people of Yugoslavia, who are decisively defending against the NATO aggression.

TABLE 6: Merged voices of friendly nations, Milošević and *Politika*

*a) Bronebak je predsedniku Đukanoviću prenio izraze podrške Vlade Norveške demokratskim procesima u Crnoj Gori, i odao priznanje za konstruktivnu poziciju naše republike u sadašnjim okolnostima. (6/5:1)* Bronebak communicated to the president Đukanović, the expressions of support by the government of Norway to the democratic processes in Montenegro, and acknowledged the constructive position of our republic in today's circumstances.

*b) ... da je norveška vlada donijela odluku o finansijskoj pomoći budžetu Crne Gore u iznosu od dva miliona američkih dolara... (6/5:2)* ... that Norwegian government decided to give financial help of two million American dollars to the budget of Montenegro...

*c) ... izrazila očekivanje skore operacionalizacije budžetske pomoći Vladi Crne Gore... (7/5:2)* ...expressed its expectance of soon to come 'operationalization' of the budget help to the government of Montenegro...

*d) Odajući priznanje Crnoj Gori za privrženost demokratiji, reformama i međunarodnim integracijama kao i njenom konstruktivnom pristupu aktuelnoj situaciji, gosoda Robinson je izrazila uvjerenje da Crna Gora može biti značajan faktor rješavju krize u regionu. (10/5:4)* Giving acknowledgement to Montenegro for its adherence to democracy, reforms and international integrations as well as its constructive approach to the actual situation, Mrs. Robinson expressed the conviction that Montenegro could be an important factor in solving the crisis in the region.

*e) Maknamara je odao priznanje našoj Republici zbog politike otvorenih vrata... (11/5:1)* McNamara expressed acknowledgement for our Republic's open door politics...

*f) Pritom je naglasio da će se lično založiti da Međunarodna zajednica konkretnije pomogne Crnoj Gori u rješavanju humanitarnih i socijalnih problema. (11/5:2)* At the same time he emphasized that he will personally see to it that the International community helps Montenegro concretely in solving the humanitarian and social problems.

*g) ...posjete se tumače kao još jedan dokaz podrške Zapada racionalnoj državnoj politici Crne*

*Gore... (13/5:7)...* the visits are interpreted as another proof of West's support to the rational state politics of Montenegro...

*h) Ponovljena je puna spremnost Austrije da pruži konkretnu ekonomsku pomoć Crnoj Gori na bilateralnom planu, kao i kroz sistem Everopske unije... (14/5:in a box)* Full readiness of Austria to give concrete economic help to Montenegro bilaterally as well as through EU system was repeated...

*i) Odao je priznanje Crnoj Gori i predsjedniku Đukanoviću lično, za konstruktivnu poziciju u datoj situaciji i vođenje realne politike u veoma složenim uslovima posljednjih godina. (15/5:8)* He acknowledge Montenegro and president Đukanović personally, for the constructive position in a given situation and leading of realistic politics in very complex conditions during recent years...

*j) Kao i u susretu sa francuskim predsjednikom Žakom Širakom, u razgovoru sa predsjednikom vlade Lionelom Žospenom izražena je puna podrška Crnoj Gori i predsjedniku Đukanoviću lično za konstruktivnu ulogu u ovim kriznim vremenima na jugoslovenskom i balkanskom prostoru. (16/5:2)* As in the meeting with the French president Jacque Chirac, in the conversation with the president of government Lionel Jospen, full support was given to Montenegro and president Đukanović personally for his constructive role in these critical times in Yugoslav and Balkan area.

*k) Francuski premijer nagovijestio je i pomoć našoj Republici za ublažavanje humanitarne i socijalne situacije u ovom trenutku i najavio spremnost Francuske da na bilateralnom planu, konkretnije podrži realizaciju kapitalnih projekata u Crnoj Gori u postkonfliktom periodu. (16/5:5)* French PM implied bilateral help to our Republic for improving the humanitarian and social situation in this moment and announced readiness of France to support more concretely the realization of capital projects in Montenegro in a post-conflict period.

*l) Predsjednik Đukanović vodi Crnu Goru u demokratskom pravcu, što je sjajan primjer, rekla je Medlin Olbrajt, izražavajući zadovoljstvo zbog današnjeg susreta sa predsjednikom Crne Gore. (10/6:7)* President Đukanović leads Montenegro in a democratic direction, what is a fantastic example, said Madeline Albright, expressing her satisfaction because of today's meeting with the president of Montenegro.

*m) ... gospođa Olbrajt je najavila finansijsku podršku od oko 20 miliona dolara. (10/6:black box)* ...Mrs. Albright announced the financial support of about 20 million dollars.

TABLE 7: Merging voices of friendly nations, Đukanović and *Pobjeda*

POLITIKA			
DATE	US	THEM – NATO	THEM – OVK
25/3/99	<i>Istina, pravda, sloboda</i> - truth, justice, freedom	<i>Strane trupe</i> - foreign troops	<i>Albanski separatistički pokret</i> - Albanian separatist movement
26/3	(4) <i>Visoka patriotska svest, hrabrost, požrtvovanje, otpor</i> –	(2) <i>brutalna agresija snaga NATO predvođena SAD na SRJ</i>	

	high patriotic conscience, courage, sacrifice, resistance (6) <i>naša pravedna borba</i> - our just fight	– brutal aggression of NATO forces led by USA on FRY (3) <i>zlikovački udari vazduhoplovnih snaga agresora</i> -criminal strikes of aggressor's air forces <i>Težak zločin protiv naroda SRJ</i> - heavy crime against people of FRY (4) <i>našim neprijateljima</i> - our enemies	
27/3	(3) <i>povećana briga i odgovornost svih građana u funkciji odbrane zemlje</i> - care and responsibility of all citizens is heightened as a function of country's defense (5) <i>moral, patriotska svest, spremnost</i> - morals, patriotic conscience, readiness	(2) <i>agresija</i> - aggression	
28/3	(6) <i>jednodušni u odbrani zemlje</i> - onehearted in defending the country (7) <i>jedinstvo naroda i oružanih snaga</i> - unity of the people and army forces (10) <i>pravedna borba koju vodimo</i> - just fight which we are leading (11) <i>snage mira</i> - peace forces	(2) <i>agresor; agresija NATO predvođena SAD</i> - aggressor; NATO aggression led by USA (4) <i>zločinačko bombaško-raketna agresija na SRJ</i> - criminal bomb/rocket aggression on FRY (7) <i>agresorovi kriminalni ciljevi</i> - aggressor's criminal targets (8) <i>vojna samovolja NATO-a na čelu sa SAD; pretnja za međunarodni mir i bezbednost</i> - NATO's military self-will, led by USA; threat to the international peace and security (11) <i>snage koje žele da uređuju svet diktatom sile i zločinima nad narodima koji ne pristaju na potčinjavanje</i> - forces which want to lead world by force and crimes against people who do not agree to submit	
29/3	(8) <i>jedinstvo i odlučnost da se istraje u pravednoj borbi</i> - unity and determination to endure in the just fight (9) <i>visoka lična odgovornost i visok stepen međusobne solidarnosti</i> - high personal responsibility and high level of mutual solidarity	(2) <i>agresor</i> - aggressor (8) <i>zločinački agresor</i> – criminal aggressor	
30/3	(2) <i>vođe tešku pravednu borbu za odbranu državnog suvereniteta</i> - they lead heavy and just fight to defend the state sovereignty	(2) <i>flagrantni napad NATO-a na čelu sa SAD</i> – flagrant attack of NATO led by USA (3) <i>hegemonizam, politika sile i politika topovnjača</i> - hegemonism, politics of force and cannon politics (4) <i>hladnoratovski prilazi, politika prava jačega</i> – coldwar	

		approaches, politics that promotes the rights of the more powerful	
31/3	<p>(8) <i>nepokolebivo jedinstvo naroda, oružanih snaga i rukovodstva</i> - unshakable unity of people, armed forces and the leadership</p> <p>(9) <i>naš herojski narod</i> - our heroic people</p> <p>(15) <i>političko rešenje putem pregovora</i> - political solution through negotiations</p>	<p>(5) <i>brutalna agresija na SRJ; kriminalni akt; zloupotreba oružane moći NATO-a</i> - brutal aggression on FRY; criminal act; misuse of military power of NATO</p> <p>(8) <i>brutalna vazдушna agresija NATO na SRJ</i> - brutal air aggression of NATO on FRY</p>	<p>(18) <i>Podrška od strane NATO, kosovskim separatistima koji su krenuli putem terora</i> - support by NATO to Kosovo separatists who started going on the road of terrorism</p>
1/4	<p>(3) <i>Jugoslavija vodi principijelno miroljubivu politiku; osnovno opredelenje je ravnopravnost svih građana, naroda i država</i> - Yugoslavia leads principally peaceful politics; the main devotion is the equality of all citizens, peoples and countries</p> <p>(7) <i>odgovornost i rešenost građana da se odbrani sloboda i integritet naše zemlje</i> – responsibility and decisiveness of the citizens to defend their freedom and integrity of our country</p>	<p>(2) <i>agresija NATO-a</i> – the aggression by NATO</p> <p>(4) <i>zločinačka politika sile koju vodi NATO, na čelu sa SAD</i> - criminal politics of force led by the NATO, headed by USA</p>	
2/4.	<p>(5) <i>snage koje se bore za mir, istinu i pravdu</i> - forces fighting for peace, truth and justice</p> <p>(6) <i>Jugoslavija vodi pravednu borbu, brani sve svoje građane i neće se odreći svoje zemlje i slobode</i> - Yugoslavia leads just fight, defends its citizens and will not renounce its land and freedom</p>	<p>(5) <i>zločinačka agresija NATO na našu zemlju; snage sile</i> - criminal aggression of NATO on our country; power of force</p>	
4/4	<p>(3) <i>visok stepen jedinstva i odlučnosti našeg naroda da brani zemlju</i> - high level of unity and resolution of our people to defend its land</p> <p>(5) <i>čvrsta rešenost da brane svoju zemlju i svoju slobodu</i> - strong devotion to defend its country and its freedom</p> <p>(6) <i>bombama ne mogu slomiti slobodarski duh našeg naroda</i> - they can not break the freedom loving spirit of our people by bombs</p>	<p>(3) <i>zločinačkih napada agresora</i> - criminal attacks by the aggressor</p> <p>(4) <i>udari NATO pakta po civilnim infrastrukturnim, privrednim i javnim objektima, među kojima su i bolnice, mostovi, dečija obdaništa, škole, fabrike</i> - strikes of NATO pact on civilian infrastructures, economic and public objects, among which are hospitals, bridges, kindergardens, schools, factories</p> <p>(6) <i>zločinačko bombardovanje centra Beograda; namera agresora da zastraše civilno stanovništvo i nanese što veću materijalnu štetu</i> - criminal bombing of the Beograd center; intention of the aggressor to</p>	

		frighten the civilians and to inflict as big material losses as possible (8) <i>nezapamćen vandalizam</i> <i>NATO snaga glani uzrok pokretanja civila iz svojih domova</i> - unforgettable vandalism of the NATO forces is the main reason for movement of the civilians from their homes	
6/4	(5) <i>jugoslovenski građevinari, koji su izgradili brojne i najsloženije građevinske objekte u zemlji i svetu i ovog puta uspeti da svojim znanjem umešnošću i velikim radnim elanom za najkraće vreme obnove uništene objekte koji su vitalni za privredu i stanovništvo</i> – Yugoslav engineers who have built numerous and most complex buildings in the country and abroad, this time will also with their knowledge and big working energy in the shortest time rebuild destroyed object which are vital for the economy and the people	(1) <i>NATO agresor</i> – NATO aggressor	
7/4	(7) <i>pravedna borba</i> – just fight (10) <i>naš narod će izdržati teškoće i savladati iskušenja da odbranimo svoju zemlju i da uporno borimo za mirno političko rešenje</i> – our people will endure difficulties and conquer challenges, to defend their own country and to stoutly fight for peaceful political solution	(8) <i>zločini novih nacista</i> – crimes of new Nazis (9) <i>nemaju ništa zajedničko sa ljudskim rodom</i> – they don't have anything with human kind	
8/4	<i>Naša privrženost mirnom političkom rešavanju problema na KiM</i> – our support to peaceful political resolution of the problem on Kosovo and Metohija (10) <i>uporno zalaganje da se postigne mirno, političko rešenje direktnim pregovorima u okviru Srbije</i> – stubborn efforts to achieve peaceful, political solution by direct negotiations within Serbia (14) <i>našem otporu nasilju, hegemoniji i njihovim dželatima, pridružiti čitav svet, u interesu pravde, slobode, progressa i zdravog razuma</i> – all world will join our resistance to violence, hegemony and their torturers in interest of justice, freedom,	(8) <i>NATO bombarduje našu zemlju s ciljem da je okupira</i> (9) <i>NATO agresor</i> – NATO is bombing our country with the aim to occupy it (11) <i>nametnut rat protiv svih građana naše zemlje, kao i protiv pripadnika svih nacionalnih zajednica</i> – the war is imposed against all citizens of our country as well as against all members of all national communities (12) <i>besprimeran i težak zločin protiv celog naroda</i> – unparalleled and heavy crime against all people (13) <i>zločinačka agresija</i> – criminal aggression (14) <i>nasilju, hegemoniji i njihovim dželatima</i> – violence,	



	progress and sanity	hegemony and their torturers	
9/4		(5) <i>kriminalnih napada NATO</i> – criminal attacks by NATO (6) <i>zločin protiv svih građana naše zemlje, protiv celog naroda i protiv pripadnika svih nacionalnih zajednica koje žive u Jugoslaviji</i> – crime against all citizens of our country against all people and against the members of the national communities who live in Yugoslavia (9) <i>fašistička NATO alijansa</i> – fascist NATO alliance	
10/4	(7) <i>odbacuju diktat sile</i> – throw away the dictation of power	NATO agresor - NATO aggressor (9) <i>NATO militantna organizacija za ostvarivanje američke hegemonije u Evropi i svetu</i> – NATO military organization for attainment of American hegemony in Europe and in the world	
11/4	(5) <i>herojsko držanje čitavog našeg naroda</i> – heroic behaviour of all our people		
14/4	(6) <i>snage progressa</i> – progress forces	(5) <i>politika sile i hegemonizma</i> – politics of force and hegemonism (6) <i>snage koje ratovima i agresijama žele da uspostave svet porobljavanja, neslobode i diskriminacije</i> – forces which want to make a world of slavery, non freedom and discrimination by wars and aggression	
15/4	(4) <i>Borba našeg naroda za slobodu, istinu i pravdu</i> – fight of our people for freedom, truth and justice	(4) <i>sile koje žele ne samo da okupiraju našu zemlju, već i da slobodnim narodima i zemljama namentu diktat i potčinjavanje</i> – forces which want not only to occupy our country, but also to inflict dictation and submission on free people and countries	
21/4	(5) <i>naš narod brani svoju slobodu i svoju zemlju</i> – our people defend its freedom and its country		
23/4	(4) <i>političko rešenje</i> – political solution	(2) <i>agresija NATO na SR J</i> – aggression on NATO by FRY	
25/4		(5) <i>neprekidno NATO bombardovanje gradova i naselja</i> – constant NATO bombing of cities and inhabited places (7) <i>danonoćno bombardovanje</i> – day and night bombing	
26/4		<i>Bombardovanje NATO-a, pogubna politika Vašingtona i</i>	

		<i>manipulacije u Rambujeu – Bombing by NATO and tragic politics of Washington and manipulations in Rambouillet</i>	
30/4	(3) <i>Borba za mir – fight for peace</i>	(7) <i>agresija na Jugoslaviju – aggression on Yugoslavia</i>	
2/5	(7) <i>narod Jugoslavije se uporno demonizuje – people of Yugoslavia are constantly demonized</i> (8) <i>primer slobode, razumevanja, tolerancije i uzajamnog uvažavanja ljudi, bez obzira na njihovu pripadnost ili uverenja – example of freedom, understanding, tolerance and mutual respect of people without taking account of their belonging and convictions</i> (9) <i>vladavina prava – regn of justice</i>	(4) <i>NATO vodi rat protiv celog naroda Jugoslavije, nezavisno od nacionalnosti ili vere – NATO is leading war against all people of Yugoslavia, irrespectalbe of nationality and religion</i> (6) <i>agresija na Jugoslaviju – aggression on Yugoslavia</i> (9) <i>nametanje vladavine sile u svetu – infliciton of rule of force in the world</i>	
4/5	(3) <i>Visok stepen radne discipline, požrvovanosti i mobilizacije u cilju zaštite uslova za život i rad stanovništva – high level of working discipline, sacrifice and mobilization with the aim to protect citizens' conditions for life and work</i>	(3) <i>agresorski udari na vitalne civilne objekte – aggressor's strikes on the vital civilian objects</i>	
5/5	(13) <i>uporna odbrana od spoljne agresije – consistent defense from the aggression from outside</i>	(3) <i>najveći agresor na svetu – the biggest aggressor in the world</i>	(3) <i>zaustavili pokušaje terorističkih bandi da pređu našu granicu i u dubini teritorije potpuno uništili jedinice, štabove i infrastrukturu terorističke organizacije koja sebe naziva OVK – stopped the attempts of terrorist gangs to cross our border and in the depth of the territory they destroyed totally the units, headquarters and intrastructure of the terrorist organization that calls itself UCK</i> (7) <i>već prvog dana agresije rukovodstvo terorističke organizacije OVK, uz otvorenu podršku najviših funkcionera zemalja agresora,</i>

			<p><i>pozvalo terorističku organizaciju OVK u opšti napad, na sve državne organe i objekte – already the first day of the aggression, the leadership of the terrorist organization UCK, with open support by the highest functionaries of the countries aggressors, called the terrorist organization UCK on general attack on all government organs and objects</i></p> <p><i>(9) nasilje, ubistva, pljačke i druga kriminalna dela – violence, murders, looting and other criminal acts</i></p>
7/5	<p><i>(6) slobodoljubiv svet; odbacuje hegemonizam i militarizam i čije je opredelenje da žive slobodno i ravnopravno – freedomloving world; rejects hegemonism and militarism whose devotion is to live freely and independently</i></p> <p><i>(7) vodi miroljubivu politiku; ravnopravnost svih zajednica – leads peaceful politics; equality of all communities</i></p>	Agresija - aggression	
9/5		<p><i>(2) višenedeljno bombardovanje agresorske NATO alijanse – several weeks long bombing of aggressor NATO alliance</i></p> <p><i>(5) sistematsko ubijanje ljudi i uništavanje civilnih objekata širom Jugoslavije; zločin protiv čovečnosti i bezumlje koje mora odmah da prestane – systematic killing of people and distruction of civilian objects throughout Yugoslavia; crime against humanity and mindlessness that has to stop immediately</i></p> <p><i>(6) velika razaranja...stambeni objekti, bolnice, dečja obdaništa, škole, najuži centar grada sa ljudskim žrtvama i velikim humanitarnim problemima; Danonoćno bombardovanje NATO-a - big distruction, apartment buildings, hospitals kindergardens, schools, the very</i></p>	

		center of the city with human victims and big humanitarian problems; day and night NATO bombing	
11/5	(4) <i>pravedna borba naroda Jugoslavije za svoju slobodu</i> – just fight of the peoples of Yugoslavia for its freedom	(4) <i>diktat sile</i> – dictation of force (5) <i>bezumlje NATO agresora koji već nedeljama ubija naše građane i razara našu zemlju</i> – mindlessness of NATO aggressor who has already been killing our citizens and destroying our country for weeks	
13/5	(5) <i>svetao primer junaštva i odanosti svom narodu i svojoj sudbini</i> – bright example of bravery and loyalty towards their people and their own destiny (6) <i>visoka patriotska svest, odvažnost i stručna osposobljenost</i> – high patriotic consciousness, bravery and professional ability		(4) <i>u slamanju sepratističkog pokreta i razbijanju njegovih terorističkih bandi na KiM, podržanih od strane spoljnih sila koje su izvršile i zločinačku agresiju na našu zemlju</i> – in breaking the separatist movement and braking their terrorist gangs in Kosovo and Metohija, supported by foreign powers who committed criminal aggression on our country
15/5		<i>Danonoćno bombardovanje; teške posledice razaranja</i> – day and night bombing; difficult consequences of destruction (7) <i>NATO snage svojim masovnim bombardovanjem</i> – NATO forces by their mass bombing (9) <i>danonoćno bombardovanje i zločini NATO</i> – day and night bombing and crimes by NATO (10) <i>noćasnje bombardovanje izbeglica kod Suve Reke</i> – bombing of refugees near Suva Reka that happened tonight	(10) <i>teror tzv. OVK</i> – terror by so called UCK
18/5	(8) <i>građani svojim odgovornim i požrtvovanim radom i ponašanjem</i> – citizens by their responsible and sacrificial work and behavior	(5) <i>neprekidno bombardovanje; NATO bombardovanje</i> – incessant bombing; NATO bombing	(2) <i>razbijanje terorističke organizacije OVK</i> – breaking the terrorist organization UCK
22/5	(3) <i>herojski otpor</i> – heroic defense (7) <i>zalaganja za mirna i politička rešenja</i> – efforts for peaceful and political solutions	(3) <i>zločini NATO, koji svakodnevno odnose ljudske živote i izazivaju teška civilna razaranja</i> – crimes by NATO, which daily takes away human lives and causes difficult civilian	

		destruction (5) <i>teški zločin</i> – heavy crimes (6) <i>podla optužba naše države za egzodus Albanaca sa Kosova i Metohije</i> – villainous accusation of our country for the exodus of Albanians from Kosovo and Metohija (7) <i>diktat sile</i> – dictation of force	
28/5	(2) <i>nastojanja da se postigne mirno, političko rešenje</i> – efforts to achieve peaceful, political solution (5) <i>uporno i dosledno zalaže za mir</i> – consistently and principally makes effort for peace	(5) <i>agresija; NATO bombardovanje</i> – aggression; NATO bombing	(8) <i>razbijanje terorističke OVK</i> – breaking the terrorist UCK
11/6	<i>Politika mira i odbrane slobode</i> – politics of peace and freedom defense (10) <i>mirovni napori</i> – peace efforts	(8) <i>dejtvovanje NATO avijacije po civilnim ciljevima i ubistva civila kakva su počinjena u Varvarinu i Surdulici i drugi teški zločini počinjeni protiv mira i čovečanstva</i> – operations of NATO aviation on the civilian targets and murders of civilians done in Varvarin and Surdulica and other heavy crimes committed against peace and humanity (9) <i>masakr i zločini koje NATO agresor iz dana u dan intenzivira</i> – massacre and crimes which NATO aggressor from day to day intensifies	
3/6		(4) <i>kriza nastala agresijom NATO alijanse na našu zemlju</i> – crises caused by the aggression of NATO alliance on our country	

TABLE 8: Us and them in *Politika*

POBJEDA			
DATE	US	THEM – NATO	THEM – S. MILOŠEVIĆ
25/3/99			
28/3	(12) <i>afirmacija politike mira i razuma</i> – affirmation of the politics of peace and reason	(3) <i>NATO udari po vojnim ciljevima</i> – NATO strikes on the military aims	(7) <i>Politika sukoba sa međunarodnom zajednicom</i> – politics of conflict with the international community
29/3	(23) <i>antiratni stav i protivljenje svakoj sili</i> – anti-war attitude and opposition to any force (29) <i>demokratski izabrana</i> – democratically chosen	(2) <i>vrši vazdušne udare po SRJ</i> – executes air strikes on FRY (16) <i>Međunarodna zajednica igra opasnu i pogrešnu igru sa predsednikom Miloševićem</i> – International community plays an important and wrong game with the president	

		Milošević	
2/4/99	Tekst 2 (5) – [Crna Gora] transparentno, blagonaklono, veoma razumno upozoravala na opasnost – [Montenegro] transparently, friendly and very reasonably warned about the danger	(2) NATO intervencija u Jugoslaviji – NATO intervention in Yugoslavia (9) NATO udari – NATO strikes Tekst 2 (3) Bezdušno bombardovanje SRJ – heartless bombing of FRY	(2) onima kojima se [razum] očigledno pomutio.. i koji su se, umjesto za logiku dogovornja i sporazumijevanja, logiku politike, opredjelili za logiku nasilja, rušenja i stradanja – to those whose [reason] obviously got blurred.. and who instead of the logic of dialogue and understanding, logic of politics, chose the logic of violence, destroying and suffering (3) politika inačenja sa cijelim svijetom – politics of defiance towards whole world
4/4	(9) dostojanstvo i demokratska tekovina – dignity and democratic inheritance	(1) bombardovanje ciljeva; primjena sile – bombing of targets; use of force (21) nerazumijevanje politike zapada prema gospodinu Miloševiću – not understanding the politics of the west towards Mr. Miloševiću	(7) namjera da politički destabilizuje Crnu Goru – aim to politically destabilize Montenegro (12) autokratski režim Slobodana Miloševića – autocratic regime of Slobodan Milošević  Promašena i pogrešna politika – amiss and wrong politics
9/4	(28) naša demokratija – our democracy (35) imamo demokratski pokret građana koji vole sopstvenu slobodu – we have a democratic movement of citizens who love their own freedom	(9) nemoć diplomatije i politike dijaloga ; bombardovanje – impotence of diplomacy and dialogue politics; bombing (14) Međunarodna zajednica...godinama smatrala Slobodana Miloševića jednim sagovornikom – International community considered Milošević as the only dialogue partner for years	(13) autokrata koji se svađa sa čitavim svijetom – autocrat who is quarreling with the whole world (14) inat - defiance (27) pokušava da destabilizuje Crnu Goru putem sile – trying to destabilize Montenegro by force
14/4			(6) neozbiljni i neiskreni – unserious and not honest
16/4	(1) jedinstveno i sinhronizovano djelovanje; očuvanje mira – united and synchroniyed acion; keeping peace (9) rukovodstvo okrenuto integracijama i povezivanju sa svijetom – leadership turned towards the integrations and connections with the world	(4) NATO napadi na SRJ – NATO attacks on FRY	

17/4	(15) <i>rukovodstvo čini vanredne napore da očuva mir, stabilnost i međunacionalni sklad</i> – leadership makes extra efforts in order to keep peace, stability and intranational harmony (20) <i>višenacionalna, viševjerska i uvijek eksplozivna Crna Gora</i> – multinational, multireligious and always explosive Montenegro (23) <i>stabilna, otvorena, demokratska proevropska Crna Gora</i> – stable, open and democratic pro European Montenegro (26) <i>evropske integracije</i> – European integrations (36) <i>crnogorski model demokratske i tolerantne koegzistencije u razlikama</i> – Montenegrin model of democratic tolerant coexistence in difference	<i>Brutalno bombardovanje</i> (lead) – brutal bombarding (1) <i>napad NATO pakta na SRJ</i> – attack of NATO pact on FRY (2) <i>najžešća NATO intervencija od osnivanja tog saveza</i> – the heaviest NATO intervention from the foundation of this alliance (4) <i>bombardovanje</i> - bombing (7) <i>teže uočiti granicu između vojnih i civilnih ciljeva</i> – more difficult to see limit between army and civilian aims	(35) <i>inačenje sa tuđim životima</i> defiance with other peoples lives
19/4	(6) <i>crnogorska demokratska politika</i> – Montenegrin, democratic policy		
24/4	(3) <i>glas razuma</i> – voice of reason		
26/4.	(17) <i>vlast privržena ekonomskim reformamam, demokratiji i proevropskom putu i CG i SRJ</i> – leadership devoted to economic reforms, democracy and pro-European road of Montenegro and FRY		(11) <i>permanenti napori Slobodana Miloševića da destabilizuje Crnu Goru</i> – permanents efforts by Slobodan Milošević to destabilize Montenegro (14) <i>autokrata</i> - autocrat
28/	(10) <i>demokratska i dostojanstvena Crna Gora</i> – democratic and dignified Montenegro	(14) <i>NATO napadi</i> – NATO attacks	
30/4		(1) <i>žestoki NATO napadi na ciljeve u Crnoj Gori</i> – powerful NATO attacks on aims in Montenegro	(3) <i>pogrešne politike konflikata sa cijelim svijetom</i> – wrong politics of conflict with the whole world
9/5.			<i>podnaslov: politika permanentnih konflikata sa Međunarodnom zajednicom</i> – subtitle: politics of permanent conflict with the international community
10/5	(4) <i>privrženost demokratiji, reformama i međunarodnim integracijama, kao i njenom konstruktivnom pristupu aktuelnoj situaciji</i> – devoted to democracy, reforms and international integrations as well as its constructive approach to the actual situation	(8) <i>NATO intervencija</i> – NATO intervention	(6) <i>višegodišnja autokratska vlast na saveznom nivou koja vrši snažan politički i ekonomski pritisak na Crnu Goru i njenu demokratiju</i> – several years of autocratic leadership on the federal level which put heavy political and economic

			pressure on Montenegro and its democracy
11/5	<i>Politika otvorenih vrata</i> - open doors politics		
12/5		(1) <i>obustava bombardovanja SRJ</i> – cessation of bombing of FRY	
13/5	(8) <i>nastavlja sa čestim diplomatskim dijalozima</i> – continue with frequent diplomatic dialogues  <i>Racionalna državna politika Crne Gore</i> – rational state politics of Montenegro	(3) <i>SRJ izložena bezdušnim vazдушnim NATO napadima kojih nije pošteđena ni CG</i> – FRY is exposed to heartless air NATO attacks from which even Montenegro was not spared (7) <i>NATO udari</i> – NATO strikes  <i>Napad zapadne alijanse na SRJ</i> – attack of the western alliance on FRY	(6) <i>nema demokracije</i> – no democracy (8) <i>inate sa cijelim svijetom životima građana i imovinom SRJ</i> – defiant towards the whole world and citizens' lives and their property
14/5	(8) <i>Crna Gora na najboljem putu da osjeti prednosti [Evrope]</i> – Montenegro on the best road to feel the advantages [of Evrope]	(2) <i>NATO bombardovanje i svi vidovi nasilja</i> – NATO bombing and all forms of violence (4) <i>primjena sile od strane NATO pakta</i> – force is used by the NATO pact's side	
15/5	(6) <i>Crna Gora čvrsto i trajno opredijeljena za razvoj demokratije, ekonomski prosperitet, izgradnju multietničkog, otvorenog društva i uključivanja u razvijene evropske integracije</i> – Montenegro is tightly and permanently devoted to development of democracy, economic prosperity, building of multiethnic, open society and inclusion into developed European integrations (8) <i>konstruktivna pozicija i vođenje realne politike</i> – constructive position and leading of real politics		
16/5	(4) <i>razumna politika; demokratski put</i> – sensible politics; democratic road	(6) <i>NATO udari na SRJ</i> – NATO strikes on FRY	
18/5		(2) <i>NATO alijansa; bombardovanje ciljeva na teritoriji SRJ</i> – NATO alliance; bombing of aims on the territory of FRY	



19/5	<i>Vizija jednog sasvim drugačijeg svijeta, politika koja radi i stvara u svom vremenu – a vision of a totally different world, politics which is working and creating in its own time</i>		<i>Politika koja sanja i tjera druge da sanjaju o izvanzemaljskim ciljevima – politics that dreams and makes other dream about unearthly aims</i>
21/5		(8) <i>NATO napadi – NATO attacks</i>	
23/5			<i>Slobodan Milošević želi da u atar svoje diktature vrati Crnu Goru - Slobodan Milošević wants to return Montenegro into his dictatorship Opsesija da pokori Crnu Goru – obsession to submit Montenegro Katastrofalna politika koju personifikuje Slobodan Milošević – catastrophic politics personified by Slobodan Milošević</i>
26/5	(1) <i>intenzivna diplomatska aktivnost – intensive diplomatic activity</i>	(1) <i>NATO bombardovanje – NATO bombing</i>	
8/6	(4) <i>Crna Gora protiv nasilja, za politički dijalog – Montenegro against violence, for political dialogue</i>	(3) <i>NATO napadi – NATO attacks</i>	(1) <i>krajnje neodgovorna politika koju gospodin Milošević vodi, u ime naše zemlje u posljednjih 10 godina – utterly irresponsible politics which Mr. Milošević leads in the name of our country during the last 10 years</i>
9/6	(4) <i>afirmacija programa ekonomskih i demokratskih reformi – affirmation of the program of economic and democratic reforms</i>	(1) <i>vazdušni napadi NATO pakta – air attacks by NATO pact</i>	
10/6	(2) <i>demokratska politika – democratic politics</i>		

TABLE 9 : Us and Them in *Pobjeda*

*a) Jugoslavija nastavlja da vodi principijelnu miroljubivu politiku, čije osnovno opredeljenje je ravnopravnost svih građana, naroda i država. (1/4:3) Yugoslavia is continuing to lead principally peaceful politics, whose main orientation is equality of all citizens, peoples and countries.*

*b) Jugoslaviji nije prvi put da mora da brani svoju slobodu i svoje pravo na suverenitet, teritorijalni integritet i nacionalno dostojanstvo. Uvereni smo i odlučni da ćemo i ovoga puta taj ispit izdržati. (31/3:11-12) It is not the first time for Yugoslavia to have to defend its freedom and its right to sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity. We are convinced and decisive that again, this time, we will pass the exam.*

*c) Grčka kao prijateljska zemlja Jugoslavije, čije narode čvrsto povezuje zajednička istorija borbe za slobodu, želi da pruži doprinos povratku mira na jugoslovenske prostore... (7/5:5) Greece as a friendly*

<p>nation to Yugoslavia, whose people are tightly connected <u>with common history of fighting for freedom</u>, wants to give its contribution to return of peace into the Yugoslav space.</p> <p>d) <i>Čestitajući vam praznik uveren sam da ćete i ubuduće, kao i do sada, časno i profesionalno, u duhu slobodarskih tradicija našeg naroda, izvršavati sve zadatke u odbrani suvereniteta, teritorijalnog integriteta, nezavisnosti i ustavnog uređenja Savezne Republike Jugoslavije, saopštava Vojni kabinet vrhovnog komandanta. (13/5:7) Congratulating you on your holiday I am convinced that you will in the future, like now, honestly and professionally, <u>in the spirit of freedom loving tradition of our people</u>, fulfill all tasks in defending sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and constitutional FRY, army cabinet of the Supreme commander says.</i></p> <p>e) <i>Uspešnim izvršavanjem postavljenih zadataka, na najbolji način ste potvrdili da ste dostojni sledbenici slavne <u>tradicije jugoslovenskog pomorstva</u>. (9/6:4) By fulfilling given tasks, in the best way you have confirmed that you are worthy followers of <u>glorious tradition of Yugoslav marines</u>.</i></p> <p>f) <i>I nikad u dosadašnjoj istoriji, kao u ovom ratu, narod nikada nije bio tako jedinstven <u>i nikada u dosadašnjoj istoriji nismo imali manji broj kukavica, koje su pobile iz zemlje da tamo, na sigurnom, sačekaju kraj rata.</u> (11/6:32) <u>Never before in the entire previous history</u>, have the people been so united as in this war. <u>We have never had</u> so few cowards who fled the country to wait for the end of the war in safety.</i></p>
TABLE 10: <i>Politika</i> on history

<p>a) <i>Zajednički je izražena duboka zabrinutost zbog tragičnog epiloga kosovske krize i situacije izazvane NATO intervencijom u Jugoslaviji, kao i posledica koje zbog toga trpi <u>i Crna Gora, i cijela naša zemlja</u>. (2/4: 2) Together, deep worry was expressed because of tragic epilogue of Kosovo crisis and the situation caused by NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, as well as the consequences suffered by <u>Montenegro and our entire country</u>.</i></p> <p>b) <i>Na današnjim generacijama u Crnoj Gori, pripadnicima svih vjerskih i nacionalnih zajednica leži istorijska odgovornost da u duhu najboljih tradicija svojih slavnih predaka, očuvaju miran suživot i odnose visokog međusobnog uvažavanja i solidarnosti, da očuvaju Crnu Goru i da doprinesu uspostavljanju mira <u>u cijeloj našoj državi</u>. (2/4:7) Historical responsibility is on today's generations in Montenegro, members of all religious and national communities in the spirit of the best tradition of their glorious ancestors, to keep peaceful coexistence and relations of high mutual respect and solidarity, to keep Montenegro and contribute to peace <u>in the entire country of ours</u>.</i></p> <p>c) <i>Prije osam godina većina građana je na referendumu odlučila da ostane <u>u jugoslovenskoj federaciji</u> i mi to poštujemo. Vjerujem da se globalno mišljenje nije promijenilo. Vjerujem da se može ostvariti dobar suživot sa Srbijom. Čini mi se da je značajniji naš zajednički interes od pojedinačnih nekorektnosti. Štoviše, smatram da ćemo uspjeti da integrišemo u međunarodnu zajednicu, <u>ne samo Crnu Goru, nego i čitavu jugoslovensku zajednicu</u>. (9/4:36-41) Eight years ago, the majority of citizens on referendum decided to stay <u>in the Yugoslav federation</u> and we respect that. I believe that the global view did not change. I believe that a good life with Serbia could be achieved. It seems to me that our common interest is more significant than particular incorrectness. Moreover, I believe that we will succeed to integrate into international community, not only Montenegro, <u>but the whole Yugoslav</u></i></p>
--

community.

d) ... nakon čega će pokrenuti inicijative za dogradnju ustavno-pravnog sistema savezne države, kako bi se u budućnosti izbjegle uočene deformacije u njegovom funkcionisanju. (16/4:11) ...after which the initiative will be started for building constitutional-legal system of the Federal state, in order to in the future avoid noted deformations in its functioning.

e) Kao što je nepokolebljiva i spremnost građana da sačuvaju svoju državu i da ničim ne doprinesu narušavanju odnosa unutar jugoslovenske federacije nećemo dozvoliti da jugoslovensku i antiratnu solidarnost, koja se ovih dana javno i iskreno manifestuje u Crnoj Gori, neko zloupotrijebi protiv Crne Gore, knjižeći je na svoj ratnoprofiterski politički konto. (17/4:28) As readiness of citizens to keep its country and with nothing contribute to destruction of relations within the Yugoslav federation we will not allow that somebody misuses Yugoslav and anti war solidarity, which is these days honestly manifested in Montenegro, against Montenegro, writing it down on its war profiting political bill.

f) Na današnji dan, prije sedam godina, formirana je SRJ. Ustavno je utemeljena kao država demokratske i državotvorne tradicije, i zajedničkih interesa države Crne Gore i države Srbije, na principu dobrovoljnosti udruživanja. Crna Gora otvorena srca, sa velikom nadom i očekivanjima ušla je u tu zajedničku državu. (28/4:3-5) On today's date, seven years ago FRY was formed. By constitution it was a country of democratic and state tradition, and common interests of Montenegro and Serbia, on the principle of voluntary union. Montenegro, with open heart, with big hope and expectations entered that common state.

g) Mi smo pedeset odsto federacije i smatramo da imamo jednaka prava kao i Srbija da predložimo model budućnosti naše zajedničke države. (26/4:22) We are fifty percent of the Federation and we believe that we have equal rights as well as Serbia to propose the future model of our common state.

h) U razgovorima je izražena saglasnost da političko rješenje za Kosovo podrazumijeva obezbjeđenje kvalitetne autonomije, očuvanje integriteta Savezne Republike Jugoslavije i bezuslovan povratak izbjeglica, što sve zajedno mora biti garantovano respektabilnim međunarodnim prisustvom. (from meeting in Vienna) (14/5:6) In talks, a common view that the political solution for Kosovo presupposes qualitative autonomy, continuation of integrity of FRY and unconditional return of the refugees, and all that has to be guaranteed with respectable international presence.

TABLE 11: *Pobjeda* on the union with Serbia

a) On [Milošević] se osjeća ugroženim od naše demokratije. Crna Gora će braniti državu i demokratiju. (9/4:28, 33) He [Milošević] feels threatened by our democracy. Montenegro will defend the state and democracy.

b) Upozoravam one koji žele da sruše naše demokratske rezultate silom: ne činite to, imamo dovoljno snage da vas 'ubijedimo' da griješite. Imamo policiju i demokratski pokret građana koji vole sopstvenu slobodu. (9/4:34-35) I warn those who wish to destroy our democratic results by force: do not do it, we have enough power to 'convince' you that you are wrong. We have the police and democratic movement of citizens who love their own freedom.

- c) Kao ključni uzrok on [Đukanović] je označio višegodišnju autokratsku vlast na saveznom nivou, koja neprekidno vrši snažan politički i ekonomski pritisak na Crnu Goru i njenu demokratiju, ignorišući rezultat prošlogodišnjih parlamentarnih izbora i drastično kršeći temeljna ustavna načela o ravnopravnosti građana i republika. (10/5:6) As a key reason he [Đukanović] marked several years of autocratic power on the federal level, that constantly puts strong political and economic pressure on Montenegro and its democracy, ignoring the results of last year's parliamentary elections and drastically breaking the foundations of the constitutional principles about equality of citizens and republic.
- d) A, taj uzrok jeste što u ovoj zemlji, nema demokratije, nema demokratskih institucija, kojima se mogu predupređivati problemi i kojima se mogu rješavati, onda kada nastanu. (13/5:7) And that reason is, that in this country, there is no democracy, no democratic institutions, through which problems could be met before and solved and after they appear.
- e) Sa punim političkim realizmom i odgovornošću, nakon implementacije mira na Kosovu, državni organi Crne Gore postaviće na dnevni red redefinisane odnose sa Srbijom na novim demokratskim osnovama u jugoslovenskoj zajednici. Pitanje je elementarne državničke odgovornosti i mudrosti da se na temelju uočenih slabosti u ustavno-pravnom sistemu SRJ koje su dovele do drastičnih zloupotreba na štetu Crne Gore obezbijede takva nova rješenja koja će značiti pouzdane institucionalne garancije našeg državnog i nacionalnog dostojanstva u zajedničkoj državi. (9/6:7-8) With full political realism and responsibility, and after the implementation of peace on Kosovo, government organs of Montenegro will put on agenda redefinition of relations with Serbia on new democratic grounds in the Yugoslav community. It is a question of elementary state responsibility and wisdom to, on the grounds of noticed weaknesses and in constitutional-legal system of FRY which led to drastic misuse that was bad for Montenegro, insure those new solutions which will mean secure institutional guarantees of our state and national dignity in common state.
- f) Pred Crnom Gorom je pitanje da li će naprijed sa demokratijom ili će unazad sa despotizmom. Jer sudbina Crne Gore, kao i zajedničke države, ne može biti u rukama ni jednog lidera, niti ni jedne posebne stranke. Ta sudbina mora ostati u rukama naroda. (11/6: 22, 24, 25) In front of Montenegro there is a question wheather go forward with democracy or backwards with despotism. Because the fate of Montenegro, as well as the fate of the common state, cannot be in hand of no leader, no any particular party. That fate has to remain in the hands of people.

TABLE 12: *Pobjeda on democracy*

- a) Što se nas u Crnoj Gori tiče, mi ćemo o tim pitanjima – kršenju Ustava Jugoslavije i dezavuisanju ravnopravne pozicije Crne Gore u Jugoslaviji, tek razgovarati sa jugoslovenskim vlastima i sa vlastima u Srbiji, nakon što se, nadajmo se uskoro, zaustavi rat u ovoj zemlji i stvore uslovi za politički dijalog. (4/4:16) As for us in Montenegro, we will talk with the Yugoslav and Serbian government about those questions - breaking the Constitution of Yugoslavia and disavowal of the equal position of Montenegro in Yugoslavia, after the war is stopped, hopefully soon and after the conditions are achieved for the political dialogue.
- b) Đukanović je potvrdio da 'Pitanje prisajedinjenja Jugoslavije Savezu Rusije i Bjelorusije nije

usaglašeno sa rukovodstvom Crne Gore.' (14/4:10) Đukanović confirmed that the 'Question of joining Yugoslavia and the Russia and Belorussian coalition was not harmonized with the leadership of Montenegro.

c) Državno rukovodstvo Crne Gore konstatuje da su i dalje evidentna brojna ponašanja na nivou zemlje koja su u suprotnosti sa ustavom SRJ. Takva je i odluka o pristupanju SRJ Savezu Rusije i Bjelorusije, donijeta bez učešća legitimnih predstavnika naše republike. (16/4:9-10) The leadership of Montenegro concluded that there was evidence of further numerous behaviors on the level of the country, which are in opposition to the Constitution of FRY. Such was the decision to join Russia and Belorussian coalition, made without participation of the legitimate representatives of our republic.

d) Komentarišući inicijativu o ulasku Jugoslavije u Savez sa Rusijom i Bjelorusijom predsjednik Đukanović je skrenuo pažnju da u konstituisanju te inicijative nijesu učestvovali legitimni predstavnici Crne Gore, ne zbog toga što Crna Gora ima rezerve prema saradnji sa našim tradicionalnim istorijskim prijateljem Rusijom, već zato što već u dužem periodu jugoslovenske institucije ne funkcionišu na Ustavom predviđen način, zbog očigledne ambicije gospodina Miloševića da marginalizuje Crnu Goru i da iz rada jugoslovenskih institucija isključi predstavnike crnogorske demokratske politike. On je takođe podsjetio da niko iz Savezne administracije prilikom konstituisanja inicijative o Savezu sa Rusijom i Bjelorusijom nije konsultovao ni predsjednika Republike Crne Gore, ni Vladu Crne Gore, ni crnogorski parlament, a da se o njoj morala izjasniti oficijelna Crna Gora, koja predstavlja 50 odsto jugoslovenske federacije. (19/4: 6-9) Commenting on the initiative of joining the Russian-Belorussian coalition, the president Đukanović turned attention to that in constituting the initiative legitimate representatives of Montenegro did not participate, not because Montenegro is reserved toward the cooperation with our traditional, historic friend Russia, but because during a longer period, Yugoslav institutions do not function according to the Constitution, because of open ambition of Mr. Milošević to marginalize Montenegro and to exclude the representatives of Montenegrin democratic politics. He also reminded that nobody from the Federal administration while constituting initiative about the coalition with Russia and Belorussian did not consult neither the president of the Republic of Montenegro, nor the Government of Montenegro, nor the Montenegrin parliament; and about that the official Montenegro, which represents 50 percent of Yugoslav federation should have given its opinion.

e) Mi smo 50 odsto jugoslovenske federacije i smatramo da imamo jednaka prava kao i Srbija da predložimo model budućnosti naše zajedničke države. (26/4:22) We are 50 percent of the Yugoslav federation and we deem that we should have equal right as Serbia to propose the future model of our common state.

Table 13: *Pobjeda on legality*

## APPENDIX Chapter 9

Pobjeda 11.06.99

Specijalno za „Pobjedu“

*Specially for Pobjeda*

Svetozar Marović Predsjednik Skupštine Crne Gore

*Svetozar Marović, President of the Montenegrin Assembly*

SUDBINA ZAJEDNIČKE DRŽAVE U RUKAMA NARODA

*THE FATE OF THE COMMON STATE IS IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE*

1. Danas bih zbog svega najradije ćutao.

*Today I would rather keep silence because of everything.*

2. Iza ovog besmislenog rata je ostalo hiljade porodica bez svojih najbližih, ubijeno nebrojeno nevinih ljudi, raseljeno na stotine hiljada očeva, majki, djece.

*Behind this senseless war, thousand families remained without their closest family; innumerable number of innocent people was killed, hundreds of thousands fathers, mothers and children were displaced.*

3. Uništeni su gradovi, fabrike koje su ljudima davale hljeb i posao, razrušeni mostovi.

*Destroyed were the cities, factories that provided bread and job for the people, bridges were destroyed.*

4. I ko danas ima pravo da slavi pobjedu?

*And who had the right to celebrate victory today?*

5. Mi ćemo biti jedina zemlja u svijetu koja će za svog predsjednika imati čovjeka okrivljenog za ratne zločine.

*We will be the only country in the world that will have for president a person charged for war crimes.*

6. To, nakon Rezolucije Ujedinjenih nacija, kako piše u Nacrtu više nije stvar samo Haškog tužioca.

*That, after the Resolution of UN, as it is written in the Draft, is not only the case of Hague persecutor.*

7. Iza toga stoji Međunaordna zajednica, Ujedinjene nacije i njen Savjet bezbjednosti.

*Behind that stands the International community, UN and the Security Council.*

8. Iza toga ne stoji samo Luiz Arbur, iza toga stoje i Rusija, i Kina i Grčka.  
*Behind that stands Louise Arbor, behind that stands Russia, and China and Greece.*
9. Mali narodi moraju da misle o sebi, a ne da čekaju spasenje sa neba ili Moskve.  
*Small nations have to think about themselves, and not to wait the savior from the heaven or Moscow.*
10. Nama je Rusija i bila i ostala prijatelj.  
*Russia is and has been our friend.*
11. Ali ono što je naš zadatak, nije obaveza Rusije.  
*But our task is not Russia's responsibility.*
12. Neki su govorili, napadajući nas: „Mi moramo da se branimo“.  
*Some people said, attacking us: „We have to defend ourselves“.*
13. Tačno. Odgovorili smo.  
*That is correct, we answered.*
14. Treba braniti svoju zemlju, ali ne uništiti svoj narod.  
*One should defend its country, but not destroy its people.*
14. Umjesto borbe do posljednjeg čovjeka, uvijek se valjalo boriti za svakog čovjeka.  
*Instead of the struggle until the last man, one should always struggle for each man.*
15. Život će donijeti redovno, i ukinuti sva druga „ratna“ vojna napeta stanja.  
*Life will bring the regular, and stop all other „war“ tense states.*
16. Ko to ne bude shvatio, otići će zajedno sa vremenom rata i zla i ostati usamljen kao onaj ko čini sve što može protiv mira i dobra svog naroda.  
*Whoever does not understand that, will go together with the time of war and evil and remain alone as the one who does everything that he can against peace and his people's good.*
17. Na Kosovu će izgleda, bojim se prije svega imati mjesta za sve, osim za Srbe i Crnogorce.  
*On Kosovo, it seems, I am afraid; there will be place for everybody except for Serbs and Montenegrins.*
18. Na Kosovo dolaze strane trupe.  
*Foreign troops are coming to Kosovo.*
19. Na Kosovo će se vratiti raseljeni Albanci.  
*Displaced Albanians will return to Kosovo.*
20. Njihov povratak kontrolisaće Međunarodne snage, dok će Vojska Jugoslavije biti prisutna samo na glavnim graničnim prelazima.

*Their return will be controlled by the International forces, while Yugoslav Army will be present only at the main border crossings.*

21. Zato u ime budućnosti multietničkog i demokratskog Kosova treba čuti Patrijarha, episkopa i posebno one koji su sve ovo vrijeme čuvali pravoslavne duhovne svetinje na Kosovu.

*Because of that, in the name of future, multi ethnic and democratic Kosovo, one should listen to Patriarch, episcopo and particularly those who have taken care of orthodox spiritual holy things on Kosovo.*

22. Pred Crnom Gorom i Srbijom je pitanje da li će naprijed sa demokratijom ili će unazad sa despotizmom.

*Montenegro and Serbia are facing the question whether they will forward with democracy or backwards with despotism.*

23. Zato narod treba miriti i približavati a ne dijeliti i svađati.

*Because of that people should be drawn together and make friends and not divide them and make them quarrel.*

24. Jer, sudbina Crne Gore, kao i zajedničke države, ne može biti u rukama ni jednog lidera, niti ni jedne posebne stranke.

*Because, the fate of Montenegro, as well as of the common state, cannot be in the hands of one leader, nor one particular party.*

25. Ta sudbina mora ostati u rukama naroda.

*That fate must remain in the hands of the people.*



11.06.1999

OBRAĆANJE PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE GRAĐANIMA JUGOSLAVIJE

*PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION*

10 June 1999 - Belgrade, Yugoslavia

**NAROD JE HEROJ - PEOPLE ARE HERO**

Slobodan Milošević u svom obraćanju istakao je da u ovom trenutku naše prve misli, pošto je agresija završena, a mir nadvaladao nasilje, treba da budu posvećene herojima koji su dali svoje živote u obrani otadžbine, u borbi za slobodu i dostojanstvo svog naroda.

*Slobodan Milošević emphasized in his address, that in this moment our first thought, after the aggression is over, and peace prevailed, should be devoted to the heroes who gave their lives in the defense of the fatherland, in the struggle for freedom and dignity of the people.*

Sva njihova imena biće objavljena u celini.

*All their names will be made public.*

U ovom ratu učestvovao je čitav narod: od beba u porodilištima i teških bolesnika na intenzivnoj nezi, do vojnika u rovovima, PVO i graničara na granici.

*All the people participated in this war: from the babies in maternity wards and seriously ill patients in intensive care units, to soldiers in trenches, in the anti-aircraft defense and border guards on borders .*

Nismo dali Kosovo.

*We did not give Kosovo.*

Teritorijalna celovitost naše zemlje ne može biti dovedena u pitanje.

*Territorial integrity of our country cannot be questioned.*

Mi smo odbranili i višenacionalnu zajednicu, jedinu višenacionalnu zajednicu koja je preostala iz prethodne Jugoslavije.

*We defended the multinational community, the only multinational community which is left from the former Yugoslavia.*

Pred nama su zadaci obnove zemlje.

*In front of us lie tasks for rebuilding the country.*

Jedinstvo i velika mobilizacija potrebni da uspešno ostvarimo obnovu i uspešno započnemo novi razvoj.

*Unity and big mobilization are necessary in order to successfully recover a*

1. Postovani građani, agresija je završena.

*Dear citizens, the aggression is over.*

2. Mir je nadvladao nasilje.

*Peace has prevailed over violence.*

3. Dragi građani, srećan vam mir!

*Dear citizens, I wish you a happy peace!*

4. U ovom trenutku naše prve misli treba da budu posvećene herojima koji su dali svoje živote u odbrani otadžbine, u borbi za slobodu i dostojanstvo svog naroda.

*At this moment, our first thoughts should be devoted to the heroes who gave their lives in the defense of the fatherland, in the struggle for freedom and the dignity of the people.*

5. Sva njihova imena biće objavljena u celini.

*All their names will be made public.*

6. Ali, u ovom trenutku želim da vas obavestim da je u ratu koji je trajao tačno 11 nedelja, od 25. marta do danas, poginulo 462 pripadnika Vojske Jugoslavije i 114 pripadnika policije Republike Srbije.

*However, at this moment I wish to inform you that in the war that lasted exactly 11 weeks, from March 24 until today, 462 members of the Yugoslav Army and 114 members of the police of the Republic of Serbia were killed.*

7. Mi nikada nećemo moći njima da se odužimo.

*We will never be able to repay them for this.*

8. Moramo da učinimo ono što možemo, što je naša dužnost, a to je da brinemo o njihovim porodicama i da im se odužimo time što ćemo uvek biti spremni da branimo slobodu, dostojanstvo i nezavisnost ove zemlje za koju su oni položili svoj život.

*We must do what we can and what is our duty, and that is to take care of their families and to repay them by always being ready to defend the freedom, dignity and the independence of this country for which they gave their lives.*

9. U ovom ratu učestvovao je čitav narod: od beba u porodilištima i teških bolesnika na intenzivnoj nezi, do vojnika u rovovima, PVO i graničara na granicama.

*All the people participated in this war: ranging from the babies in maternity wards and seriously ill patients in intensive care units, to soldiers in trenches, in the anti-aircraft defense and border guards on borders .*

10. Niko neće zaboraviti heroizam branilaca mostova, građana, branioce fabrika, trgova,

svojih gradova, svojih poslova, svoje države, svoga naroda.

*No one will forget the heroism of those who defended bridges, the citizens, those who defended factories, squares, their cities, their jobs, their state, their people.*

11. Narod je heroj - možda tako glasi najkraći zaključak ovog rata.

*The people are the hero - this is maybe the shortest possible conclusion of this war.*

12. Narod je heroj i zato mora da se oseća herojskim, i zato treba da se ponaša herojski, a

to znači dostojanstveno, plemenito i odgovorno.

*The people are the hero and this is why they should feel heroic and act heroically, and that means in a dignified, noble and responsible manner.*

13. Početkom ove godine širom naše zemlje bilo je mnogo mitinga.

*In the beginning of this year, numerous rallies were held throughout our country.*

14. Na njima se čula jedna parola NE DAMO KOSOVO.

*One message was heard on them - WE SHALL NOT GIVE UP KOSOVO.*

15. Nismo dali Kosovo.

*We have not given up Kosovo.*

16. Garantuje suverenitet i teritorijalni integritet naše države Grupa 8 najrazvijenijih zemalja sveta i Ujedinjene nacije.

*G8, the group of the most developed countries of the world and the United Nations guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.*

17. Ta garancija sadržana je i u Nacrtu rezolucije.

*This guarantee is also contained in the Draft resolution.*

18. Otvorena pitanja moguće nezavisnosti Kosova u vreme koje je prethodilo agresiji zatvorena su beogradskim dogovorom.

*The open issues of the possible independence of Kosovo at the time prior to the aggression were closed by the Belgrade agreement.*

19. Teritorijalna celovitost naše zemlje ne može biti dovedena u pitanje.

*The territorial entirety of our country cannot be questioned..*

20. Mi smo izdržali i zemlju odbranili jer smo čitav problem izneli na vrh svetske piramide

autoriteta, pred Ujedinjene nacije i stavili ga da bude rešavano pod okriljem Ujedinjenih nacija i u skladu sa Poveljom Ujedinjenih nacija.

*We have endured and succeeded in defending the country because we brought the entire problem to the summit of the world pyramid of authority - the United Nations, and handed its resolution to be sought under U.N. auspices and in keeping with the U.N. Charter.*

21. Pod okriljem Ujedinjenih nacija biće međunarodne snage koje se raspoređuju na Kosovo sa zadatkom da podjednako brinu o bezbednosti svih građana, a pod okriljem Ujedinjenih nacija odvijać se i politički proces koji će biti baziran na principima koji proizilaze iz rasprava vođenih ranije, ali isto tako i podjednako na suverenitetu i teritorijalnom integritetu naše zemlje.

*Under U.N. auspices there will be deployed the international forces in Kosovo with the task of equally ensuring the safety of all citizens, and there will start the political process which will be based on the principles which came out from previously conducted discussions, but are also equally based on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.*

22. To znači, može biti reći u tom političkom procesu samo o autonomiji i ni o čemu drugom izvan toga.

*This means that one can talk only about autonomy in the political process, and nothing else outside that.*

23. Izlaskom pred Ujedinjene nacije mi nismo branili samo svoju zemlju već smo ponovo na svetsku scenu vratili Ujedinjene nacije koje 80 dana, od pre početka ove agresije, nisu funkcionisale.

*By coming out before the United Nations we were not only defending our country, but we have returned the United Nations onto the world stage as it was not functioning for 80 days since before the start of the aggression.*

24. To je naš doprinos zalaganjima čitavog slobodoljubivog sveta, to je naš doprinos tendencijama da se stvara multipolarni svet, da se ne prihvata stvaranje sveta koje će biti vođeno diktatom sile iz jednog centra.

*This is our contribution to the efforts of the entire freedom-loving world, that is our contribution to the tendencies to create a multi-polar world, and not accept the creation of a world which will be ruled by the dictate of power from one centre.*

25. I mislim da će taj doprinos biti ogroman u istoriji i da će heroizam našeg naroda u otporu mnogostruko većem neprijatelju i snažnijem neprijatelju, dati pečat kraju 20. veka.

*I believe that this contribution to history will be great and that the heroism of our people in resisting a much bigger and stronger enemy will mark the end of the 20th century.*

26. U tom sam uveren.

*I am certain of that.*

27. Mi smo pokazali da imamo nepobedivu vojsku i siguran sam, najbolju vojsku na svetu.

*We have demonstrated that our army is invincible and the best in the world.*

28. Kad kažem vojsku, neka se to shvati široko.

*When I say army, this should be understood in a wider sense.*

29. Mislim na vojsku, policiju i sve snage državne odbrane.

*I think of army, police and all state defense forces.*

30. Oni su pokazali pred čitavim svetom kako se brani naš narod, kako čvrsto i jedinstveno stoji zato što je narod bio vojska i zato što je vojska bila narod.

*They have shown the entire world how the people are defended, how to stand firmly and united because the people were the army and the army was the people.*

31. I nikada u dosadašnjoj istoriji, kao u ovom ratu, narod nikada nije bio tako jedinstven i nikada u dosadašnjoj istoriji nismo imali manji broj kukavica, koje su pobile iz zemlje da tamo, na sigurnom, sačekaju kraj rata.

*Never before in the history so far, like in this war, have the people been so united as in this war. And never before have we had so few cowards who fled the country to wait, in safety, for the end of the war.*

32. U ovom trenutku pred nas se postavlja mnogo novih problema koji će otvoriti mnogo zadataka na kraju agresije i na početku mira.

*At this moment, we are faced with many new problems which will open up many new tasks at the end of the aggression and at the start of peace.*

33. To su, pre svega, problemi da se zbrinu oni kojima je to najpotrebnije, da se zbrinu u celini porodice poginulih, ali i onih koji su ranjeni i delimično onesposobljeni da obavljaju svoje funkcije, ali i da se zbrinu svi oni radnici i seljaci, građani svih profesija, kojima je rat naneo štetu, kojima treba pomoći po kriterijumu kome je ta pomoć najpreča, a treba pomoći svima.

*These are primarily problems regarding the taking care of those who are in the greatest need, the full provision for the families of those who were killed, but also*

*those who were wounded and partially disabled to carry out their functions, and also care for all those workers and farmers and citizens of all professions who suffered damages in the war and who need to be helped according to criteria which start from those in the greatest need, and all should be helped.*

34. Pred nama su zadaci obnove zemlje.

*In front of us are the tasks of reconstruction of the country.*

35. Mi ćemo odmah početi da ponovo gradimo naše mostove, mi ćemo odmah početi da

ponovo gradimo naše puteve, naše fabrike, da ponovo pokrenemo jedan veliki razvoj koji će izraziti sposobnost i vitalnost našeg naroda, naših građana, naše države, svih njenih stanovnika.

*We will immediately start rebuilding our bridges; we will immediately start rebuilding our roads, our factories, and start a big development which will express the readiness and vitality of our people, our citizens, our state and its entire population.*

36. Kad govorim o našem narodu, mislim na sve građane Jugoslavije i na nacionalnosti.

*When I speak about our people, I have in mind all the citizens of Yugoslavia and nationalities.*

37. Mi smo odbranili i višenacionalnu zajednicu, jedinu višenacionalnu zajednicu koja je preostala iz prethodne Jugoslavije.

*We have succeeded in defending the multinational community, the only multinational community which remains from the former Yugoslavia.*

38. Smatram da je to jedno od takođe veoma velikih dostignuća ove naše odbrane.

*I consider this also one of the great achievements of our defense.*

39. Snage koje dolaze na Kosovo biće u službi mira, bez obzira iz kojih zemalja dolaze.

*The forces which are coming to Kosovo will be in the service of peace, regardless from which countries they are coming from.*

40. Vojska uvek ispunjava svoju komandu a ovde je komanda - zaštititi građane i očuvati mir.

*The army always carries out their orders, and the orders here are - to protect the citizens and preserve peace.*

41. Veliki poslovi koji nam predstoje tražiće jednu veliku mobilizaciju.

*The great tasks which we are facing will require large-scale mobilization.*

42. Smatram ostvareno jedinstvo u ovim teškim danima jednom velikom tekovinom koju moramo sačuvati i u vreme obnove, jer nam je jedinstvo i velika mobilizacija potrebna da uspešno ostvarimo obnovu i uspešno započnemo novi razvoj.

*I regard the unity achieved in this difficult period as a big achievement which we must preserve during the reconstruction period as well, because unity and a large mobilization are needed to successfully carry out the reconstruction and successfully start a new development.*

43. Želim u tome svim građanima Jugoslavije mnogo sreće i radosti, rekao je na kraju obraćanja građanima Jugoslavije Slobodan Milošević.

*In this, I wish all the citizens of Yugoslavia a lot of luck and happiness, said Slobodan Milošević in the end of his address to the citizens of Yugoslavia.*

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